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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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CRITICAL REMARKS

Explaining the Inner Motions of "The System."

William Amburst Tyssen-Amherst, Baron Amherst of Hackney died of apoplexy brought on by the loss of a large portion of his property. Needless to say, a man with such a long and double-barreled name was a front pew-holder, and as such heard many a time and oft, at first ear, the injunction to lay not up for himself treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. Score one more for the Socialist wisdom that maintains that hypocrisy only flows from ideals not planted upon the material basis that can make such ideals possible.

The 20,000 government spies in Turkey whom the revolution threw out of jobs, and who organized with Athens as headquarters to restore political despotism; are in dreadful earnest. A plot of theirs to seize and murder and dissolve Parliament has just been discovered and baffled.

Keen is Rockefeller's mind regarding where lies the center of gravity in capitalist society. Meeting the President-elect in Augusta, one day, Rockefeller said: "I went down in my automobile this afternoon to hear you speak, but"—but what? I was too far away from you to hear what you said? No!—but you were too far away from where I sat. If Taft did not take the hint, he will in due time.

Day by day the visions of the Democracy to secure an "issue," and that issue Free Trade, upon which to "unite all forces," and sail into power, are vanishing. They are vanishing before the rays of that sun that brooks no spokes—the sun of economic interests. The South, the Solid South, is about to crumble. In increasing numbers, and with increasing emphasis, leading "Southrons" are asserting the necessity of protection for their undoubtedly "infant industries."

Gompers may now claim a victory over Speaker Cannon in Congress. By a vote of 40 to 21 the item of \$5,000 for horses and carriages for the Speaker was stricken out of the appropriation bill. This victory is of the caliber of all other victories claimed by Gompers during the last fifteen years.

To the orchestration of the Hatters' strike the latest striking evidence of the inability of Labor to enforce the so-called contracts that it enters into with Capital, the international convention of the United Mine Workers is gathering in Indianapolis with one issue supreme on the delegates' minds—the issue of "electing a president to make contracts."

Charming is the naivety of the bituminous delegates, who are assembling at the International Convention of the United Mine Workers in Indianapolis. They are "at a loss to understand the financial delinquency of the anthracite mine workers towards the organization," seeing that they (the bituminous) "assessed themselves \$2,200,000 in 1902 to help the anthracite men win the strike." These bituminous men do not yet seem to know that they were used as cat's paws by the bituminous mine owners, who, finding their profit in a dearth of anthracite, "checked off" from the pay of their employees the \$2,200,000 that went to keep the anthracite men on strike. Not an increase of strength, but a decrease of strength, is the inevitable result to a Union that is operated upon in such a way.

Pringle the Pittsburg "labor leader" whom Roosevelt nominated for Appraiser of the Port of Pittsburg, and who, having started to strut as a personage of "importance" with the Administration, was promptly cashiered, the New York "Evening Post" declares that "a very slight knowledge of labor leader human nature would prepare one for just such performances" as Pringle indulged in. Of course, "capital leader human nature" would never think of exploiting its "inferior."

Not the least of the suggestive utterances that came from the pulpits on Sunday, the 17th, were the words of the Rev. Peter E. Reilly, pastor of St. Henry's Roman Catholic Church in Bayonne, N. J. The Rev. Reilly objected to penalties of which he claimed from 900 to 1,000 were placed in the plate every Sun-

day. Whether the Rev. Reilly is a Modernist or not we know not. One thing is certain, he is indulging in some kind of criticism (whether "higher" or "lower" we can not tell) of the Bible. The old accepted version which extolled the widow's mite seems to find no favor in St. Henry's Church. These, certainly, are revolutionary days. The revolution is entering in and oozing out at all the social pores.

When Butler wrote in his "Hudibras"—
"As sovereigns are anointed by the priesthood,
So pigs to lead the populace are greased good,"
he did not have for his model a modern inauguration of a President in Washington. Butler could hardly have done better had he lived to-day, and watched the preparations for the inauguration of Taft.

It is reported as a positive fact that Grand Chief (or is it Superlative Chief?) Warren S. Stone of the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers did not flick an eyelid when he declared, at the dinner of the Economic Club on Jan. 18 that "the day has gone by when laboring men can be voted like dumb cattle." It is also reported that, upon hearing this, the Railroad Directors thrust their tongues into their cheeks, and whispered something that sounded like: "our labor-lieutenants are bricks, and no mistake."

Charles Francis Adams gives "thirty reasons" against the increase of the Navy. The Powder Trust patriots give none at all in favor—but get there, all the same, as a proof that the trick of "addition, division and silence" has lost none of its cunning.

"Law," "Order," "The Family," "Religion," together with all the rest of the polished beatitudes of Capitalism, exhibited themselves in the person of the policeman, who, to the tune of: "Ye're wan and all my pris'ners" broke on Jan. 17 into a Brooklyn tailoring shop in which a number of Jews, whose Sabbath is Saturday, were hard at work trying to earn their living.

Socialists should clip and paste in their hats the passages from the President's latest message to Congress vetoing the bill authorizing the construction of a dam across the James River in Stone county, Mo., in which it is shown that the water supply of the country is passing into the hands of a gigantic private corporation. The passages from the message will come in handy when the Roosevelt "municipal reformers" take the stump with the claim that "municipal issues are distinct from national ones."

"There's no ill wind but blows fair to some one" our philanthropic capitalists are unctuously mumbling under their beards, as they hasten to ship a few thousand dollars worth of goods to the sufferers of Messina, and in so doing raise a clatter loud enough to drown the thunder of collapsing mines in Latrobe Pa.; Lick Branch, W. Va.; in Illinois and Missouri; together with the shrieks of dying miners—all of which bring in tens of thousands of profits.

A "simony"—not new we know, but unknown to the primitive Church—is the case of the four Pittsburg Baptist preachers whom a fifth charged, by name, as having succumbed to a \$100 bribe each, to "boost" Magee for Mayor from the pulpit.

Tis not capitalists alone, privately owned "Socialist" publications also demonstrate the internationality of instinct of the Plunderbund. The "New Yorker Volkszeitung," a German privately owned corporation, keeps a number of retainers in several labor organizations, who act as watch-dogs for its private interests. Upon the identical principle the private corporation of "The Call" keeps its James O'Neals in jobs so that they may, as O'Neal has recently done in the Terre Haute Local of the Socialist party, prevent the dire calamity to The Call Corporation of the unity of the S. L. P. and the S. P.—a unity in which the Corporation instinctively scents danger to its private interests.—There's nothing more class-conscious than Private Property, whatever the language, race, color, or creed of the private holders.

There goes one good life thrown away on the desert air. A prominent Brooklyn capitalist died the other day, who had spent large sums of money pro-

The genius of Poe will assuredly take care of itself. Envyed by influential contemporaries, calumniated by influential clericals, sneered at by vile mediocrities, contempt heaped upon him by Pharisaic virtue, not only is Poe's character now vindicated, but his unique intellectual gift to the race is rising, has risen to a degree of admiration that the centennial of his birth, now being celebrated, assumes rank as a national ovation. The most ardent admirer of the literature bequeathed by Poe to posterity can not but admit his warmest hopes will be realized beyond expectation. If even now, when much that Poe wrote is veiled with unappreciated mists to many of his enthusiastic critics, especially to those critics who are rendering him unwilling and unqualified homage—if even now Poe's writings command the admiration that they do, his stature in the Nation's Hall of Fame is bound eventually to be full many a cubit higher.

viding his numerous employees with comfortable homes at a very reasonable rent, and besides with wholesome recreation for their families." And lo, the fact was not even mentioned in his funeral oration. Sic transit gloria mundi.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the posture of Patrick Henry, struck by the Butte Miners' Union, and the words of Patrick Henry, quoted by the Union, was not mere histrionic posing and reciting, when the Union adopted the resolution that "the members of the Butte Miners' Union, in harmony with the forces of progress, a higher humanity, and in the name of right, justice, liberty and human brotherhood hereby go on record as holding the decision of Judge Wright in utter contempt, and reiterate the statement of Gompers, Morrison and Mitchell that the Bucks Stove and Range Company of St. Louis is unfair to organized labor, and in the words of Patrick Henry 'if this be treason, make the most of it.'"

What stronger witness to the spread of economic enlightenment among workmen could be wanted than this bit of advice to employees given by D. F. Edwards, in the January Square Deal: "Teach your brother workmen that the correct idea they should have is that each [employer and employee] have rights alike, and the rights of both sides must be respected equally." Watch the wolf pull the sheep-skin down tighter over his ears, to allay suspicion!

Roosevelt the Bumptious must believe he has a monopoly of all the brains, as well as of all the epithets, in the land. In a plea for technical schools he says: "The young man who has the courage to take constructive industry is almost sure of an ample reward in earnings, in health, opportunity to marry early and to establish a home with reasonable freedom from worry." And he indicates the mental calibre of the people he expects to swallow that rubbish, by further adjuring them: "Labor should get over the idea that to earn \$12 a week and call it salary is better than to earn \$25 a week and call it wages." Evidently Roosevelt takes the United States for a magnified Harmless Lunatics' Retreat.

Capitalist life is a continuous edition of "Puck" to the workman with a long memory. Mayor Eugene Schmitz of Trijico is now doing time with bonds fixed at over \$1,000,000 for his part in the municipal scandals in his city in 1906. Yet that same year, he was writing magazine articles, adorned with his photo, in which he said, "I am proud and glad to have the opportunity as Chief Executive of a brave people to be one of the pioneers in laying the foundation for the future San Francisco." Well laid, O Schmitz!

A warning to the haters on strike—"Arbitration is a modern device for promoting strife by substituting for an original dispute a score of inevitable disagreements as to the manner of submitting it for a settlement," sayeth the truthful cynic.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

EDGAR ALLAN POE

A fate such as this is enough to call attention under all circumstances, to men of all pursuits. There is that, however, in the fate of Poe that is of peculiar interest to the Socialist.

There is no ground in reason for genius to undergo the physical martyrdom that Poe underwent. Necessity may be the mother of invention. There is no ground in reason to expect invention from physical torture. The morality of Capital adapts its standard to its own low level. Capital justifies the cruelty it perpetrates with the claim that that extracts the best in man. This is libel. Keener is the insight of the poet who perceived that chill penury does rather repress the noble ardor in soul, and freeze the genial current of his soul, thus keeping down to the brute's round of toil for bare existence hearts once pregnant with celestial fire, and hands that might have waked to ecstasy the living lyre.

Poverty—to-day, as utterly unnecessary a scourge as would be the pest that periodically devastated Europe in the Middle Ages—to-day intensifies the race's mental poverty. The geniuses that rise, rise despite adversity. Nor do they gain aught in the struggle. On the contrary. They can only lose. Something of the pitch sticks to the hand or mind that wrestles with it.

To what extent Poe, the man, and Poe, the genius, suffered in the struggle, and humanity is thereby the loser, may never be ascertained. Nevertheless, after the best is said that the warmest admirer of Poe may say in behalf of his creative genius, there is a homage that may not be overlooked. It is this—no torture of mind or body left the impress of bitterness upon Poe. Though Sadness and Indignation marks much that was distilled through Poe's pen—Rancor, never.

"REVOLUTION" IN SPOKANE

REDOUBTABLE STEPS FORWARD MADE BY "NAPPY-TRAUTY" SLUMMISTS.

Advertising Boards of Employment Agencies Confiscated—An Office Counted "Taken and Held" and Then Demolished—Counter-Revolution Threatened and Sobers Revolutionists—"Revolutionist" Leaders Hide During the Revolution—When the Clouds Rolled by They Came Out.

Spokane, Wash., January 20.—It is said that in Africa certain tribes of a low order of intelligence place some trivial object near their huts to keep off evil spirits.

A similar idea seems to actuate the "Central (1) Committee (1)" of the so-called Industrial Union of Spokane in ordering a poster placed on the walls of their hall giving "Notice to Employment Agents, Pinkertons, and Socialist Labor Party" men that they must not enter.

Along with this notice, and as supplementary thereto, resolutions are passed to get a piano, to start a paper, and to "fight employment offices" by suspending members patronizing them.

Said employment offices, by the way, have few jobs for sale and are able very easily to dispose of them.

These subjects were the "important" subjects for consideration before the High and Mighty Executive Committee meeting at their hall, Sunday, January 17th.

The bunch of labor skates at the head of that queer organization here—one Walsh, one Wilson and one Isler—fill the minds of their followers with some of the most pure and simple ideas as to the benefits to be obtained by joining their "I. W. W." such as "knocking out the employment agents," riding bus cars on their cards, and any old fly paper scheme that does not conflict with the preconceived notions of the yet uneducated mass of workmen as means of deliverance from wage slavery.

It was to be expected that when the men see these great expectations do not materialize, and find the promises dashed out to them to be hopeless bubbles, there would be a falling off of members here that would make their concern look like a house of cards collapsed. It has started. Recently Emma Goldman was quoted in the "Spokane Review," the leading capitalist sheet of this locality, as saying that this town was "the cradle of the revolution." She had this crew in mind.

Well, the first installment arrived on time—January 18th.

Through the teachings of the great apostles of "practical," "concrete" organization of the working class, J. H. Walsh, James Wilson, Fred Isler, et al., whose conception of Industrial Unionism is "fighting employment agents," "running lodging houses and restaurants," etc., a small riot was started here on the above date.

A wage slave went to an employment office, and bought a job, and went back to the office to get his money back, and when it was refused went to the "I. W. W. Hall" and got a bunch of "direct action" men, who "are not afraid of carrying on the class struggle right at the

place where they are exploited."

Right here is where the practical work of Walsh and the bunch shines.

They proceeded to carry into effect the "take and hold" clause of the Preamble by taking hold of the counter and demolishing same, thereby getting an "immediate result" without "any of your Socialist Philosophy."

When the police arrived the first installment of the revolution had been accomplished by revolutionizing the inside of the office.

These great organizers of the working class are always urging them to do "practical," "concrete" work. As part of the practical work in fighting the employment offices several of the offices have missed their advertising boards lately—Tremendous feat and tremendous progress!

The undersigned was told by one of the employment agents that if any "direct action" was practiced on him, a counter revolution would happen, as he had provided himself with a battery of quick firing artillery in the shape of a brace of revolvers.

While the revolution was going on in the office, Walsh, Wilson and Isler were conspicuous by their absence.

After the trial when things had quieted down a little, Walsh came out on the street and told the men what a power the working class have when they are organized, by saying that they, the I. W. W., were not implicated in wrecking the office or had anything to do with it, and in the next breath declaring they would "soon put all the employment offices out of business" and that they had the police with them.

Thus we await the next step towards the Social revolution.

Harry Austin.

DE LEON AT PARKSIDE CHURCH. Usury in the Things Needed by Mankind to Obtain a Livelihood Must Be Abolished and Socialism Instituted.

Daniel De Leon, in speaking at the Parkside Church at Lenox Road and Flatbush avenue, Brooklyn, on the XVth Psalm on Jan. 24, showed that the practice of usury by peoples was what led to the poverty-stricken conditions of the masses of all countries. De Leon stated that none of the Bibles extant, as well as none of the law books, correctly defined what usury was. Ecclesiastics dodged correct definitions, because to reveal the true nature of the practice was to expose an unjust proceeding.

Usury as usually explained was said to be the taking of excessive interest on money. But the real meaning of usury was taking the product, or a portion of the product, of another man's labor, by virtue of the ownership of that without which he can not produce. According to this correct understanding of the term, anything that snacks of "interest" is usury; rent and profit, no matter what the percentage may be, are likewise usury. Accordingly, wherever may be found exacting these things in return for the use of wealth, money, plants of production, houses, etc., which the masses need to gain their livelihood, was condemned by the passage in the XVth Psalm which taught that "He that putteth not out his money to usury shall dwell in the holy hill."

For thousands of years the human race had acted contrary to the injunctions laid down by the XVth Psalm. But before the advent of mechanical arts, mankind was kept down to the grubbing existence. Material conditions were not at hand to enable men to provide a sufficient quantity of the neces-

saries of life to allow them to attain the moral plane which biblical passages taught. But to-day these hindrances to plentiful production were removed: It was a long stretch between the crude hand labor of ancient times and the perfected machinery of the present time. And the possibilities of rising above the brute stage of grubbing were now at hand. Mankind can, as a result, attain to the practise of moral principles taught for thousands of years, but it must be shown how to change the conditions. Usury in all things must be abolished, and Socialism must be introduced.

THE CONFLICT.

Between the Two Conceptions of the Socialist Movement.

That many movements of progress have come up in the past and been thwarted by historic development, and that Socialism might prove to be another one of these unless properly guarded, was the thesis propounded by Boris Reinstein of Buffalo, in his lecture on "The Conflict between Two Conceptions of the Socialist Movement," at Arlington Hall, last night.

I see at least two developments which may thwart Socialism," Reinstein went on to say. "One of these is its being taken up and made repulsive by the slum, physical force, element. The other, the Scylla to this Charybdis, is the attempt to legalize the Revolution. If anybody should ask me—to put into few words the difference between the Socialist Labor Party and the bulk of the Socialist party, I would say that the Socialist party's position in its last logical analysis is the attempt to legalize the revolution, to make it conformable to the law which protects the interests of the very class it is aimed against. You may as well try to harmonize fire and water: as well try to make the Russian revolution palatable to Czar Nicholas. Victor L. Berger is the most outspoken exponent of this conception of the revolution; but he only represents the bulk of the opinion of his party."

Reading from Everybody's Magazine for October, Reinstein showed that Berger declared the revolution would offer to pay for the industries. This was in accordance with the Socialist party's conception.

"If you ask an S. P. man the difference between the two parties, he will tell you it is the difference between 400,000 votes and 20,000 votes," continued the speaker. The Socialist party's starting point is the idea that a revolutionary movement can succeed by purely political methods. There may be some cases of corruption in that camp, but the party that holds that conception is not necessarily corrupt. Jules Guesde, the founder of the Marxist wing of the movement in France, also believes that the movement on political lines is sufficient. He and his followers are not corrupt. When Millerand accepted his portfolio at the hands of a capitalist prime minister, it was Jules Guesde and the Marxists who led the fight and stamped out such corrupt tactics in France. But the American S. P., in this last campaign, in Connecticut, in Arizona, and in Pennsylvania, allowed its candidates to run simultaneously on capitalist platforms. Yet the two have this in common, that they believe that the movement can be made to succeed if built upon purely political lines. Keir Hardie recently showed by his answers to important questions that he was in the same category.

Since the Socialist party believed the revolution could succeed by politics alone, Reinstein pointed out, they devoted all their energy to the upbuilding of the political organization. On this essential point the Socialist Labor Party took a directly opposite stand. It insisted on the use of the political weapon in all countries where the ballot was in use; but it did not overestimate the power of this weapon. It recognized that the political weapon was powerless without the support of the economic organization. This organization must not only be a shield to the workers under the present system, but it must also play an essential part in the actual emancipation of the working class.

At the Stuttgart International Congress of 1907 that position was adopted as official for the Socialist movement of the world. Upon this plank the Socialist Labor Party consistently takes the stand. Not so the S. P.

"We ask the S. P. How is it going to prevent the capitalist class from whip-

FACTORY REPORT

N. Y. Commissioner of Labor—Less Strikes, Because of Hard Times—Courts Favor Cannery—Unsanitary Conditions.

During the year ended September 30, 1908, there were, in the State of New York, 50,396 regular inspections as compared with 46,816 in 1907. Prosecutions for violation of the law instituted during the year numbered 743.

Upon the Department's orders, 1,633 children found illegally employed were discharged. In 414 cases employers were prosecuted for such illegal employment. The falling off in child labor generally from the figures of 1907 was twenty-one per cent., while illegal child labor fell off thirty-four per cent.

The Commissioner reports serious difficulty, however, in enforcing the law in the canning industry (fruits and vegetables). Prosecutions in this industry for a number of glaring violations of the law relating to women and children proved "almost a waste of time," said the Commissioner, owing either to the local prejudice of court in favor of the canner, or to the effect of the opinion of former Attorney-General Mayer, that the employment of young children in "sheds" connected with canneries is not illegal. "The Dexterity of the past season," concludes the report on this subject, "has brought to light a situation which is intolerable" and which "demands thorough consideration with a view to a remedy, so that the obligation to obey statute law may be enforced without discrimination."

The report devotes considerable space to the results of the first year's work of the Medical Inspector of Factories. New York having been the first American State to provide such an officer. The field being new, considerable time had to be devoted to plans and preparation for work. Aside from this, the medical inspector's efforts this year were mainly devoted to determining conditions as to ventilation in various factories by measurements of the proportion of carbonic acid gas in the air. In all 430 tests of air in 136 different workrooms were made. Twelve parts of carbonic acid gas in 10,000 volumes of air is regarded as the maximum if air is to be wholesome for breathing. But a tabulation of the medical inspectors' tests shows proportions frequently two or three times greater than this, and in some cases five or six times greater. The startling conditions revealed by these tests, the Commissioner affirms, justify the provision made for a medical inspector.

The preliminary report of the Bureau of Mediation and Arbitration notes a large reduction in labor disputes in 1908 as compared with 1907. In 1908 only 158 strikes and lockouts were reported, in which 19,948 employees were directly involved, as compared with 282 disputes and 77,931 workers directly concerned in 1907. The prevailing industrial depression and the development of trade agreements are cited in explanation of the lessened number of disputes. Interventions of the Bureau numbered seventy-five.

ping the workers into line, as long as its flanks are not covered by a revolutionary economic union? In the last election there were hundreds of thousands of voters who wanted to vote in opposition to the Republican party. But the crack of the whip of the threats of lock-outs in case of Taft's failure drove them into line for Taft. The S. L. P. says that that condition will remain, as long as the workmen are not united in a revolutionary union in their shops. No matter how popular Socialism may be made academically, that will bring Socialism no nearer, in the face of a disorganized working class. If it would, there would be no Czar in Russia to-day. There, the bulk of the people, even the peasantry that slept the sleep of centuries, lined up together and politically expressed their demand for a transfer of public powers. They elected overwhelmingly revolutionary Dumas twice; but no public powers were transferred. Why? Because there was only moral support behind the revolution—the revolutionary

(Continued on Page 6.)

VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS

Taking Place Within the Socialist Party in San Francisco.

San Francisco, January 14.—The Local of the Socialist Party had its regular quarterly meeting for the election of officers and the drama that took place there, and still more the preliminaries, are worthy of being recorded in the columns of The People.

The members and sympathizers of the local representation of the S. P. are made up of every hue and shade of Socialist, real, imaginary and in between; from the Stitt Wilson-Social Crusaders to the William Morrison Clubites; from the Bellamy Falling Backwards utopists to the municipal, free or Three Cent street-car ride Socialist; and from the Austin Lewis Philosophical School down to Union haters and merely political parliamentarians. Besides these there are a few who are so closely related to the municipal grafters here now in office, as well as some of those out of office, that it is a pretty hard matter to say just where the local city hall government with its parties of capitalism ends, and the Socialist party begins, to say nothing of the pro and con Japanese and Chinese Exclusionists. In other words, we have a fair sample of every element that is to be found within the Socialist party nationally, in this Local here. With perhaps one exception there is not a single farmer within the whole of Frisco.

It has been said by good local members of the S. P., men who are now in charge of the S. P. ship, that ever since the "quake," and from sometime before that, one old time Socialist, but who had long ago become a Union Labor Party politician, G. B. Benham, whose history has before this been published in The People, is the real Mephisto, or at least has been up to this date, in the Socialist party here.

Fast in this case is a caricature of the original, by name of Cameron King, a member who only some months ago used the party as a footstool in order to swing himself into the political job of Election Commissioner. This matter was at that time published in the "Socialist World." The People's office must have a copy of same. In said paper, printed by the S. P. State Committee, Austin Lewis demonstrated that this action of King is more traitorous than the action of Millerand in France, when he accepted office in the French Cabinet where sat Gallifet, butcher of the Communards.

Before the "quake" the S. P. here was somewhat proletarian, that is, the workers had quite often the upper hand. Then when the calamity struck the town, and the Local here got relief funds sent to them, a hall association was organized composed, or at least principally run, by hangers-on of the City Hall gang of petty lawyers, and who through the hall association practically ruled the Local.

Now, the storm had been brewing for months. At one time there was an endeavor made to have the Local read out of the organization, which failed. Then last election came. And here is where the fun commenced. A lawyer by name of Kirk had given his endorsement to a judge, Carrol Cook, on the Republican ticket. Kirk and Cook were both running for the office of Judge in the Superior Court. Kirk ran on the last Socialist party ticket. After the election charges were preferred against Kirk, and about two weeks ago, after the King faction had used up every technicality that petty lawyers are capable of using, Kirk was successfully expelled. This was the first victory the proletarians had gained; it made them feel strong. The opposition knew it, so the reactionists among them got together and issued the enclosed circular. What is interesting about it is the fact pointed out that the road to progress spells "De Leonism."

[Enclosure.]

San Francisco, January 9, 1909.
DE LEONISM vs. ORGANIZATION.

Dear Comrade:

A real crisis confronts Local San Francisco in the election to be held Wednesday evening, January 13, 1909. It is of the utmost importance that YOU SHOULD ATTEND and VOTE. An element is striving with might and main to capture the Local, reverse the successful tactics of the International Socialist movement, and begin the disruptive and destructive tactics of De Leon and the S. L. P.

The tactics of De Leon are bitter personalities, character assassination, here, hunting, and Union smashing. To differ with these people is to expose oneself to slanderous attacks on one's character; to oppose their policy is to be made the object of an effort to expel you. To support the Unions in their

struggle for better wages and hours is to be called a "fakir," a "bourgeois."

These people tried these tactics in the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, and IT IS DEAD; they tried them in the S. L. P.; and NOW they seek to try them in the Socialist party. It is up to you to say whether they shall or not. Yours for the Revolution,

(Signed by)

E. L. Reguin,
K. J. Doyle,
J. O. Ambrose,
R. C. Goodwin,
R. A. Martin.

It is interesting to know a little history of some of the signers of the above statement: E. L. Reguin, their last candidate for Mayor, is a man who, while running for that office, got out an election card, on the back of which the following questions were printed: "Do You Want Better Schools? Do You Want Free Markets? Do You Want More Parks? Do You Want Better Streets? Do You Want Better Water? Do You Want Cheaper Gas? Do You Want Better Fire Protection? Do You Want Better Car Service? Do You Want a Better Sewer System? If so, vote the Socialist Ticket Straight."

I trust that every reader of The People can recognize that as good S. P. Socialism.

Another name on the circular is R. C. Goodwin, a man known to People readers as the man who some years ago, left the S. L. P. in San Francisco on account of the fact that comrades here refused to accept his interpretation of Marxism, according to which a bricklayer was not a wage worker, on account of his having outside of labor power also his skill to sell.

The election of officers above referred to, with its fight centered around the election of the organizer. The radicals had nominated a cement worker by name of W. H. Connelly. This man had been some two years ago expelled from his union for participating in the Moyer-Haywood and Pettibone Defence League. He had made a motion that the union should give a hundred dollars to said cause. Well, that was enough to settle his case. Twelvemore, an ex-convict, here secretary of the Building Trades Council, also member of his union, went after him, and Connelly, of course, was expelled. Now this reactionist brought this matter up against him, but to no avail. Connelly was elected by a vote of 93 to 47.

Thus things are even somewhat progressing within the S. P. Will it go onward, or not, only the future can tell. Many have been the times that we have seen the S. P. whitewashed. Will this coat stay? Let us wait events.

Kaspar Schmid.

WHAT IS WAR?

What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war?

To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toll, in the British village of Dumdridge, usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain "Natural Enemies" of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say thirty able-bodied men: Dumdridge, at her own expense has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois.

Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected; all dressed in red; and shipped away at the public charges, some two thousand miles; or say only to the south of Spain; and fed there till wanted.

And now to that same spot in the south of Spain, are thirty similar French artisans, from a French Dumdridge, in like manner "wending": till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition; and thirty stands fronting thirty each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word "Fire!" is given; and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anew shed tears for.

Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest. They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide a Universe there was even, unconsciously, by Commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them.

How then? Simpleton! their Governors had fallen out; and, instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot. —Alas, so is it in Deutschland, and hitherto in all other lands; still, as of old, "what devilry! soever kings do, the Greeks must pay the piper!" —Carlyle.

When you have read this paper, pass it on to a friend.

MONACHISM

An Institution Marked in Strong Contrasts to Light and Darkness—Its Influence on Progress.

We usually think of monastic life as an institution peculiar to European Christianity, but Lecky tells us that Egypt was the parent of monachism, and it was in that ancient land, he says, that it attained both its extreme development and its most austere severity.

Traces of monastic life appear in remote antiquity among the Hindoos. The prophet Elijah, and the Nazarites in the time of Moses, are Hebrew types of religious asceticism. The Pythagoreans, a species of monastic institute, testify to the existence of monachism among the Greeks.

Christianity, starting as a material revolt, had its purpose strangely perverted. The slave, who was to be freed from the taskmaster, soon learned that Christianity's mission was to save him from the devil and hell fire. In line with this change came the exaltation of the soul, the immortal part, at the expense of the body, the vile, material and mortal part. The new gateway to heaven was through self-denial and mortification of the flesh.

On the other hand those who could do so fled the persecutions of the Empire by seeking refuge in the desert, thus incidentally fleeing from the temptations of the devil, as well. Besides the monastic plan assured of food and shelter, that living in common which was the aspiration of early Christianity.

Some of the early seekers after seclusion reduced their practices to an absurdity. Thus Simeon Stylites, finding monastic rules too lenient, determined to live truly "alone," as the word monachism implies, built him a hut away from the rest.

But, alas for his peace of mind, his fame for holiness spread, and many visitors crowded about his humble habitation. Desiring to escape their intrusion, we are told, the good man got atop of a pillar, where he stood day and night, exposed to the weather, subsisting on what was brought to him, and engaged only in religious exercises.

The first pillar on which Simeon Stylites sought lodgment was ten feet high; as his fame and the crowds increased he kept building his pillars higher, until the last one that he occupied was sixty feet in the air with a platform four feet in diameter. This martyr is said to have lived in this way for thirty years. It is hard for us to imagine what influence he could have had on the gaping multitude, but he wielded considerable power. Let us hope that after so much self denial he saved his soul. The church in due time rewarded him with canonization. St. Simeon Stylites had many imitators, and the pillar saints, or atylites did not wholly disappear until the twelfth century.

Three hundred years after Christ numerous monastic institutions with common regulations for religious exercises and labors arose, but without having compulsory or perpetual vows. Instead of fleeing to the wilderness they established themselves near the cities, while some bands of these monks led a wandering and sometimes marauding life, especially when they felt the "mortification" of hunger.

Monkish institutions eventually covered the whole of Europe. The monasteries became the place of refuge for the persecuted and oppressed, and also the asylum of those who wished to escape from labor, military service or taxation. Corruption soon permeated the whole institution and the monks became idlers. Efforts were made from time to time to introduce stricter discipline for the removal of abuses. Basil the Great composed a new system of discipline which was approved by the pope, adopted by the monks, and prevailed for a long period through the East.

Confederation of the monastic establishments was a natural development. These consolidations, called orders, in time vied with kings and nobles as possessors of territory, owners of wealth, and in numbers of retainers. Kings and nobles sued for monastic favor with gifts, and the monkish orders not infrequently determined peace or war, and the election and dethroning of princes. Whenever the kings got the upper hand they bestowed the offices and revenues of monasteries on their favorites, not only among the clergy, but among the nobles and military chiefs, and often on the wives and mistresses of monarchs. Convents frequently became the scenes of banquets and the rendezvous for hunts and military games.

To the uninformed reader, a few figures showing the wealth and power of

the monkish orders, in France alone, will prove a revelation. Shortly after the Crusades, the monks, through advancing money on estates, preaching the end of the world, and therefore the uselessness of all worldly things, found themselves owners of nearly one-third of the domain of France; a remarkable outcome of the doctrine of self-denial and mortification of the flesh. It was separation from the world with a vengeance. Under this headship of the monastery of Cluny there were 1,000 monasteries and 2,000 convents. The Cistercians embraced more than 2,000 monasteries and 6,000 nunneries.

Long before the Reformation the monkish orders had evaded more and more their vows of poverty, discipline was corrupted, internal dissensions diminished their energy and influence. As a result of idleness and ignorance the orders came in time to antagonize all intellectual progress. It is true that from the monasteries came the Luthers, who in throwing off the cowl threw off at the same time all papal authority. The monastic orders though, as a whole, stood firm against the Reformation. But a new era had dawned, and the rise of the great Protestant powers in Europe played havoc with the monks. By one means or another the monasteries in Protestant countries suffered almost complete loss if not entire extinction.

Monachism to-day, even in Catholic countries, is but a feeble ghost of its former self. The conditions under which it thrived no longer exist. At one time looked to as a training-school for the clergy, and its members considered of superior sanctity and therefore rightfully entitled to ecclesiastical preferments, the monks in time became the instruments for subverting the freedom of the national churches. It sought the benefits of communal living but distorted nature with its doctrine of celibacy.

Monasticism is credited with conserving something of ancient letters, and yet again from its cloisters came the most bigoted opposition to freedom and progress. They are said to have kept burning, the glimmer of light that shines through the "Dark Ages," but on the other hand it was the slavish subjection to the church-state system, and the diverting of industrial energy into desert and cloister that helped make the Middle Ages darker than they need have been.

A St. Simeon Stylites, sitting on the top of his pillar, stared at by the multitude, was a power for a while, but surely the strength of the church has been in its diocesan clergy who walked amid the every day affairs of men. Any way monachism is as a tale that is told. Its chapter marked "Finitis."

J. H.

PASCO, WASH., UNEMPLOYED

Turned Out of Temporary Shelters, Now Suffer in Cold.

Pasco, Wash., January 16.—The Spokesman Review to-day says: Hundreds of unemployed laborers, who have been thrown from the saloons because of an order issued to-night by Sheriff Vance T. Davis that all drinking resorts close at 12 o'clock, have found refuge in the Methodist church. Fires have been built and the host of uncared for men now find rest and comfort. Citizens, indignant because of the unlooked for order, are offering their homes as shelter for the unfortunates.

During the recent cold weather several local saloons have cared for these men, and now that the county authorities have enforced the law, hundreds of men are now seeking shelter.

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THE SITUATION IN FRANCE

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN FOR THE PEOPLE BY JOSEPH SCHEURER, N. Y.

Under the above heading the Paris correspondent of the Berlin "Vorwarts," January 3, 1909, writes:

The stupid attempt of the waiter, Mathis, to assassinate the President of the Republic was not a political event: it was a political certificate. The individual "direct action" of this weak mind, viewed in connection with the collective actions of the clerical disciples in the "Quartier Latin" and the royalist dukes at Syveton's grave, in "Comedie Francaise" and elsewhere, does not necessarily prove a growth of monarchist propaganda, although it may show a growing confidence of these elements.

The financiers of the reactionary clique have lately put a pile of money into anti-republican agitation. Alongside of the Orleansist "Soleil," a paper no one buys, although it has been enlarged and its make-up improved, there lined up the "Action Francaise," an organ of the same league, which centralizes all tendencies inimical to democracy. But without these two papers, the anti-republican press is quite a significant power. All popular evening papers like "Patrie," "Liberte," and "Intransigeant," belong to this group. Any official starting of a counter publication, that of "Messidor" Gerault-Richards, after "sinking" a goodly sum of money, passed from the domain of the living. Still it would be incorrect to believe that the "cause of royalty" has made appreciable gains. Its galaxy of literateurs composed of conservative doctrinaires like Jules Lemaitre and mixed in with anarchistic snobs, are unable to make much of an impression on the "sound common sense" of the cockroach bourgeois, who has no great longing for the smell of clerical incense.

But one success the reactionary agitators can claim: the growing political lethargy of the masses. These are republicans, not because they believe that the Republic is able to advance the interests of all, but because they conclude, from the sad experience made with politicians that the unavoidable corruption under an authoritative system, shorn of mutual jealous control, would even grow; and they also fear the business disturbances following a change of the Constitution. The limited vision of the small bourgeois, which only sees the surface of events, and cannot penetrate into their deeper significance, is ever ready to see the "cause" of failure in democratic parliaments without investigating the historical function of parliaments in the struggles of classes.

It is no accident that syndicalist "neo-Proudhonism" finds its strongest following among the workers in small establishments, and in circles where perception of things is esthetic, nor is it an accident that it receives in conservative scientific publications friendly criticism from knightly sources. It can not be denied that with the loss of confidence in the possibility of the social development under democracy, one of the strongest pillars supporting republican convictions is crumbling.

One, who observes things from the viewpoint of scientific Socialism, will regard this crisis in democracy as inevitable, and will bring the strongest arguments to bear against a policy which, blind with rage and hungry for power, appeals to all the reactionary instincts and forces that had been tamed by the bourgeois revolution. The democratic intoxication could not last forever, but the subsequent "Katzenjammer" could not have been so sad if the era of Clemenceau had not injected the poisonous virus of corruption and betrayal into the republican body.

The Socialist does not, like the vulgar democrat, believe that democracy in itself possesses forces of development which will drive society beyond capitalism, but he recognizes in it a valuable form in which the transformation of the present system of production may take place without unnecessary sacrifice, a form in

which the class struggle for political power, can be carried on with clearness and a decision come to. Having this conception the Socialist doesn't indulge a democratic utopia which marches from reform through reform to Socialism. Nor does he fly to the anarchistic condemnation of political activity on the part of the proletariat.

The historical crime of the upstart radical adventurers, has been to greatly harm the cultural value of "democracy" and to recklessly and cynically rob forms of social life, conquered by blood, of the esteem in which they were held. It may be admitted that the situation of a government, which had to defend the bourgeoisie against the stormy rather than dangerous attack of the young labor confederation, was not without its difficulties. But if proof were required of how uncalculated for, from a social conservative standpoint the furious reactionary policy of Clemenceau and company was, it is furnished clearly by the development of the trades union movement on the one hand and disintegration of the radical party on the other. In French politics it has always been the experience at times of a revolutionary crisis, that a party bent on ousting the ruling powers collapsed. Clemenceau's shrewdness led him to capitulate before the stupid anti-republican attacks which painted the "red spectre" in childish lurid colors on the wall. And behind the glorious vanguard of "bourgeois liberties," scrambled in wild flight the whole "radical" cockroach bourgeois to "the other side of the barricade." But the Government became the slave of bourgeois fright, which it had helped to create. All endeavors for reform became wretched parliament comedies, the only thing that became a reality was the killing of proletarian aspirations.

Since then, the radical party is a corpse, even if it has promulgated high sounding "declarations of principles" at congresses. The small bourgeois electors, who received the lesson of desertion from the practices of the Government itself, have lost confidence in the power of bourgeois democracy to save society, and their deputies are now the more ready to enter the ring of social-conservative "interest" politics, since the influence of the trust magnates over them is becoming stronger through the fact that they have become masters of parliamentary actions.

The "radical-socialist" faction, which is guided by cockroach bourgeois interests, has long severed its parliamentary solidarity. Its indictments of the Government of pretence-democracy are becoming more and more severe with the growing tendency of the electors to leave the party of radical impotence and duplicity, and join the groupings of conscious class interests.

The ridiculous attempt to assassinate has probably been more to the advantage of the bloc-democracy than to the Government. The latter seized with too apparent a zeal the opportunity to proceed against the "yellow" unions. Just as if organized labor could regard this unreasonable act against this miserable but otherwise harmless band as a satisfaction for all the dastardly deeds committed against them! But not less vain is the hope of the "Radical Socialist" opposition to return under some pretence to the old bloc elements "to save and unify the republic." The Government is right, to make the growing political lethargy of the masses responsible for the growing impotence of the anti-republican shouters. It is its unexpressed expectation that the working class will give up the struggle for the long due social reforms, and again put its organization at the disposal of illusory democratic solidarity instead of utilizing it for the great attack on the bourgeois order. Had not the progressing reaction within the bourgeois within the last years made any such attempt futile, the attempt would be shipwrecked on the determined "No" of the class-conscious character of the unified Socialist party.

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SEARCHING FOR AN EL DORADO

BITTER EXPERIENCE OF A WORKINGMAN WHO SOUGHT VAINLY IN THREE CONTINENTS.

By H. S. Carroll, Los Angeles, Cal.

In memory I go back to the time when I was a boy of fourteen or fifteen years, in the old seaport town of Plymouth, England. I was then an apprentice in the orchestra of a theatre, playing nightly second cornet from 7.30 p. m. to about 11 p. m. I had nothing else but this to do, except to practice in the daytime, which, I fear, I generally neglected. The reason for this was that I was too restless, being filled with romantic, and, as I now know, unreal ideas of life.

I vaguely suspected something was wrong in life, but could not tell what the trouble was. Yet I had a fairly easy time of it; leisure time to think, ponder, study, and indulge in theories. I conceived there was an El Dorado somewhere for me, in some far-off foreign land, "away over the dark blue waves of the rolling Atlantic," whither I could go and find my ideal life. Vain wish but I did not know it was then, I know it now.

After reading Maine Reid's book, "The Kite Runners," I determined, I resolved, I vowed I would go to Mexico—a land as I then thought, of romance, of easy living, a refuge from a dreary, sordid commonplace life. Joined with this "castle-in-Spain" thought was the glamor and seductiveness of the Roman Catholic religion. I had been brought up a "ritualist," and so Catholicism was in no way strange or repugnant to me. In all my crudeness, I studied the Catholic claims, eagerly admitted them, and became a Catholic. Unconsciously I was preparing to have a religion that was a necessary and inevitable reflex of the social conditions of the country I aspired to be an inhabitant of. I admit that certain other logical deductions had their part in changing my religion, but, I believe, the underlying cause was as I have stated. And now I thought I was all prepared to transfer to my new and chosen country.

But men propose and economic conditions dispose. Directly I began to manoeuvre to get to my destination, I found I was foiled at every turn. Not having any finances, I became aware how I would be subjected to a fierce and degrading exploitation in order to attain my end. This I could not bear, so I waited and waited, believing something was bound to turn up that would enable me to accomplish my project. I hugged my delusion that there was a place somewhere where exploitation was not. I thought I could escape from the capitalist system of production and its inevitable outrageous and liberty and happiness-destroying wage slavery. I did not use these words then, but instinctively I realized what the words imply. I thought I had found a loophole of escape, and that the chance would somehow come for me.

In the interim of impatient waiting, I began to read rationalistic and modern philosophic literature, which resulted in a realization of the fact that I had been thinking some very babyish thoughts, and that I was all at sea as regards the deeper problems of existence. But if I could only have become acquainted with the doctrine of economic determinism or the materialist conception of history, how much better and sounder I would have been saved from! That, however, was reserved for a later date.

Time passed, I left my home town and went to London, where I had the privilege of being exploited from 7 a. m. to 7 p. m. daily for over a year. Still I thought there was an escape for me away in the unknown lands. I had given up music for a time. There were too many competitors; too many more competent in that line than I, and, withal, I had a defect of the lips that discounted my chances. But the slavery I was held in now was intolerable; it was grinding from morn to night, getting only one Sunday off every five or six weeks. Still under that "loophole" delusion, a refuge somewhere, I joined the army. The jangle of the spurs, the equestrian exercise, and the open-air life had but a transitory fascination upon me, for coupled with this were poor and wretchedly cooked food, hard labor, despotism and a brutal, galling environment. Ere long I took "French leave" and departed, to become a wage slave again in a reeking London restaurant, at miserable wages, drudging from 5 a. m. to 8 p. m.

My dream of some day getting out of my "fix" hung on to me, and I ever kept looking forward to a place where economic nightmares were unknown, and liberty and the pursuit of happiness guaranteed. A chance came to go to South Africa. I took it, endured the awful conditions of wage slavery aboard ship, and landed in Cape Town. Ah! Maybe here I had found the land of my dreams! I did not. Liberty, pursuit of happiness, for me—for any wage slave son of a proletarian mother, wasn't to be found there. Capitalist "in-class struggle" was waging there; a war was on, and production was considerably blocked. Starve or

become a hired assassin, join the army—such were the conditions that fronted me at the gate way of that continent. No sign of my visioned land where wage slave automatons were not.

In obedience to the primal law of life, I perforce had to go a-soldiering for the lords of life and death, and I thank whatever gods there be that I had not to send a shot at my fellow slaves on the other side of the firing line. I served and came out unscathed, and received my blood-money.

Then to Canada I went, but found no materialization of my vision. On, on, I went, like the mythical wandering Jew, finding everywhere the blight and curse of wage slavery and exploitation.

At last I reached Mexico, but no longer in my trance, no longer in my "fool's paradise," for at Sacramento I came across some Socialist literature that showed me the problems a workingman is up against. I read the "Communist Manifesto," by Marx and Engels, and Engel's "Socialism from Utopia to Science." I apprehended the truth of Economic Determinism, and so, on arrival in the Mecca of my dreams, I reached there disillusioned.

Nemesis, Nemesis! I no sooner entered the "promised land" than I was arrested and flung into a filthy abominable prison for thirty days, and made to work eleven hours a day mending roads. I happened to walk through the railroad yard of the Mexican Central at Terreon, and thereby committed the heinous crime of trespassing.

Trespassing! If, in my own El Dorado, if that wouldn't bring a man down from the hazy, purple clouds, nothing would. Needless to say, I fled that dear land, and have given up "Icarian" El Dorado's, yet not wholly so, for the El Dorado, the Better Land, I instinctively was seeking, like a weary, "wandering Jew," and that I now consciously and unmistakably work and strive for, is Socialism, the Socialist Republic!

Fellow wage slaves, whoever you are, wherever you are, I bid you turn from imagining after vain things. Renounce your delusion of thinking and hoping there is somewhere, somehow, some loophole of escape for you from wage slavery other than through the gate way that leads to the Co-operative Commonwealth. One thing thou lackest—economic freedom, and that alone is the gift and outcome of Socialism. Capitalism offers you, fastens remorselessly upon you, around the world, from zone to zone, nothing but bitter, deadly slavery. Arise, then, in your might, dispel all delusions and illusions; join with your fellow slaves in integral organization, political and economic, and fight for life and liberty, for economic emancipation—the one thing needful.

WOMEN AS SEEN BY OTHERS.

It is, indeed, fortunate that the law of the equal transmission of characters to both sexes prevails with mammals; otherwise it is probable that Man would have become as superior in mental endowment to woman, as a peacock is in ornamental plumage to the pea-hen.

—Darwin.

Louise Michel did not stand alone in her courageous attitude. Many others, amongst whom must be mentioned Lénine and Augustine Chiffon, showed the Versailles what terrible women these Parisians are, even vanquished, even in chains.—Lissagaray's History of the Paris Commune.

Remove the economic considerations that now force women to submit to the customary disloyalty of men, and you will place women on an equal footing with men. All present experiences prove that this will tend much more strongly to make men truly monogamous, than to make women polyandrous.—Engels.

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FREEDOM A MYTH

The Worker's Life That of a Slave, As Can Be Observed in Industrial and Commercial Life.

By David Biell, Pasadena, Cal.

We are told of the glorious freedom and liberty that all enjoy in this "great land," but any peep into "our" industrial or mercantile establishments to observe the surroundings and conduct of the employes within, disproves these boasts of "independence." I will here relate what the employes of one of "our" Pasadena department stores must put up with, and leave it to the reader to judge how much "freedom" there is in such life.

Before one can go to work in this store, he must fill out an application blank questioning him how he has been conducting himself in the past, and how at present. The applicant is asked, Are you married? Upon whom do you depend for a living? Do you drink? Do you chew? Do you flirt? How old are you? Where were you born? Do you agree to act as spy upon your fellow-worker for the interest of your master?

If the applicant happens to pass muster on these questions, he is hired and put to work. And such a place that he is sent into!

One of the rooms is in the shape of a prison corridor, long and narrow with iron bars at the windows. Walls keep out the sunlight; the air is not fresh. The health of the employes is of no consideration to the boss; all he cares about is profit. He can find plenty of "help" should any of his "hands" succumb in the struggle.

In this dreary place one is often compelled to put in overtime, as much as four or five hours. After working a long and cheerless day, you are compelled to return after half an hour for supper to resume your grind. The reward for these four or five hours extra labor is a smile from the boss or a "two-bit" necktie.

But one must not simply a clerk or salesman in this place. He must as well be a packer, an electrician, an elevator operator, a window trimmer, a show-case decorator, and also a spy. To the astonishment of the observer he beholds little children, ranging from seven to eight years running to and fro in this place, covering many miles of floor space daily. These tasks rob them of the joys of youth, of strength, and of education. A master needs profit and the young lives are ground up into dollars for private greed.

Wages are at the lowest possible point. Clerks get as little as five dollars a week. Chances for advancement and higher wages are very small. Competition is very great. The supply of labor is always greater than the demand. Since I was forced to enter this establishment I saw each morning people who were in line from six in the morning waiting to apply for jobs.

The employes of these department stores find himself always being watched just like one who is a criminal, or has a bad character. It is an insult to every honest man to be thus mistrusted. But this is part of the "liberty" we enjoy.

Away with such mockery. Working-men, you know that you are not free. Why not rise against the system that thus chains you and make your life a burden? Come, close up the ranks, and march forward with the Socialist Labor Party to a state of society where there shall be freedom and where life shall be a pleasure.

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"BLUE BLOOD" ARISTOCRACY

By Mrs. Olive M. Johnson, Fruitvale, Cal.

A most heartrending item recently appeared in the public press. Little Willie Vanderbilt has failed to receive his annual million for a birthday present. His seventh birthday was in December, 1908, but for the first time in his life Little William failed to receive a check for \$1,000,000 from his dad. As is well known, his once, presumably, most loving parents have just gotten through with proceedings in the divorce courts. Willie's mother, who started life as Elsie French, then became Mrs. Alfred G. Vanderbilt and who is Elsie French again, has been granted full power over the little boy. As a result the seven years old, six times a millionaire did not receive his annual million for his birthday.

It is a sad tale. It was probably the unique and laudable intention of the fond father to keep young William, until further development took place, as many times a millionaire as he had years on his back. The fond illusion has been shattered by family wars and judge's decree. Let us pity young William Vanderbilt, for, though he has not had to take up his father's dinner pail and slink off to the factory and help his mother to make a living, yet an enormous and serious calamity has befallen him. The frivolous fates, who evidently had intended him to receive a million a year to keep him a going until at some future date the Vanderbilt millions should fairly shower down upon him, have now cut him off without notice. We might well realize that it is no small matter to be a million; poorer than one in the course of natural events ought to be!

But, pity and condolence aside, let us draw a serious proletarian lesson from this sublime picture.

It is often told us that in this country there are no classes because there is no nobility. All are plain citizens. No one is better than the other and all have equal opportunities. What was it that in the Middle Ages, and supposedly still today in "aristocratic" countries, determined noble lineage? Was the nobility determined by an analysis of the blood? Was it by such process that the blood of one family was found thicker and "bluer" than that of another? Of course not.

Back of all nobility and class privileges is OWNERSHIP. In feudal days the ownership of land was the determining factor. To make secure the power of the family, the preserve its blue blood, primogeniture was instituted. The elder son inherited the land and treasures. The younger sons, with all the good blue blood that presumingly ran through their veins, were practically forced to go out in the world as noble adventurers and were complacently permitted to break their skulls against the first place that appeared and by the deed add lustre to the family escutcheon. The daughters, unless they were lucky enough to be taken up by somebody's first son, generally became the progenitors of the proverbial "poor relations." The heir to the land, on the other hand, generally married an heiress, so that concentration of wealth and nobility was continually going on and the family power secured. Hence

the older and richer the family, the thicker and bluer its blood became.

Today land is only of secondary consideration. Machinery and means of production hold first place. A little town lot may suffice, or a simple franchise on city or State property may do first rate. It is capital, however invested, profit-bearing capital, that plays the role.

Let us see now if "our" American capitalist families are not willfully laying the cornerstones for "houses." Let us see if it is not the intention of the "founders" that their blood thicken and their power increase with time and increased possessions. Little William H. Vanderbilt represents the fifth generation of the Vanderbilt family. He is said to be the principal heir to the Vanderbilt fortune, as his grandfather, old Cornelius Vanderbilt, left the bulk of his millions to Alfred and designated that young man as the head of the family. This counting of generations from a certain ancestor already indicates that the blood is thickening. The designation of a "head of the family" indicates plainly a preconceived intention to perpetuate the FAMILY and to concentrate its wealth and augment its power. By provisions in the wills of most of our leading financiers their millions are designed to stay in the family. The heads of families, of course, attract the heirs of other great families, and so the concentration goes merrily on.

The younger sons and daughters can well be allowed a few millions to run riot with, as the vastness of the modern fortunes leaves plenty over for them. It is all right enough for a Consuela Vanderbilt or an Anna Gould to marry foreign dukes, counts and princes. This contact with the "time-honored" blue bloods of Europe throws a lot of a reflected lustre upon the as yet rather scanty American family mantles, which is not amiss as long as they aren't established families enough to cast a "royal" lustre of their own. The fact that dukes, counts and princes prove to be degenerates and have to be supported by old families in order to be able to live up to the Gouldian or Vanderbiltian standard does no harm either. It is splendid for the scions of new families to be able to look down upon the scions of old. It raises the modern aristocracy to a higher standard than that of the previous era.

As the families grow older, there will be a crop of cousins unto the tenth and twentieth generation. The private fortunes will continue to be scattered, but the family fortune will continue to increase. Then "our" families will have their host of poor relations and the family tree will be complete.

America's resources and modern methods of wealth production will build an aristocracy that shall outshine anything the world ever saw. Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Western European or Oriental aristocracy shall be fully compared with the American brand. Future history shall show the American plutocrats to be the one and only real wonder of the world. Such, at least, appear to be the fond hopes of the founders and heads of the modern "houses."

It is only too bad that their houses after all are only card houses and that under them the Social Revolution is already gathering an earthquake.

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NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO., 28 City Hall Place, New York

PLATFORM

Adopted at the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, July, 1904, and Re-adopted at the National Convention, July, 1908.

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of THEIR life, THEIR liberty and THEIR happiness.

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be controlled by the whole people; but again taught by experience we hold furthermore that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must likewise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production.

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system—the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes: the Capitalist Class and the Working Class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle; and perverts government to the exclusive benefit of the Capitalist Class.

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class.

The time is fast coming when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises, on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations, on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 1909.

What can be more soothing, at once to
a man's Pride and his Conscience,
than the conviction that, in taking ven-
geance on his enemies for injustice done
him, he is simply to do them JUSTICE
in return?

—EDGAR ALLAN POE.

THE "UNREST IN INDIA."

In the House of Lords, last year, Lord
Curzon sought to explain the "unrest in
India" with "the victories of Japan over
Russia, which were a thunderclap, that
reverberated through the whispering
galleries of Asia."

The report of the British Army Qual-
ifying Board on the result of the exam-
ination of candidates for the Army, held
in September, contains these remarkable
passages:

"English essays . . . mediocre.

"Dictation . . . uneven; some of the
candidates made the most grotesque
mistakes both in orthography and in
punctuation; others lost marks by pure
carelessness and inattention."

"The precis-writing was in most cases
unequivocally bad. . . . The vital de-
fects were recklessness in misstatement
and an apparent inability of the writers
to read a simple narration with any
degree of care and intelligence."

"The results of the examination in
geometry were very poor indeed."

"There is still an unduly large propor-
tion of candidates who know practically
nothing of geography."

"A lamentable ignorance of sound ele-
mentary knowledge of French was
shown."

"Of the ten candidates offering Ger-
man not one was really good, and some
were very bad."

"Only a small proportion of the can-
didates in Latin are safe from making
blunders of the most elementary de-
scription."

"The one candidate in Greek sent up
a half-a-dozen words of no value."

"The truth on the cause of the 'unrest
in India' is to be found in a combina-
tion of the cause mentioned by Lord
Curzon and the condition of things re-
vealed by the Army Qualifying Board."

"Of course, back of these there are
other causes—so-called 'remote causes'—
without which the victories of Japan
and the intellectual state of the Army
would be of little account. Neverthe-
less, so-called 'near causes' have a de-
termining effect upon events, grafted
though they are upon the more basic
or 'remote' ones."

Revolutionary movements are sym-
ptoms of a double evolution—an evo-
lution upwards, on the part of the op-
pressed, and an evolution downward, on
the part of the oppressors. The explo-
sion takes place when the two evo-
lutionary movements draw near enough
to collide. At that moment the "near"
causes act like sparks to the powder
magazine of the "remote," or fundamen-
tal ones.

India is going now through such a pro-
cess. From below there is a positive
evolution upward in train. From above
there is a corresponding evolution down-
ward taking place.

What is going on in far away India
is going on nearer home. The intellec-
tual decline of the Ruling Class converges
with the increasing class-knowledge of the
Ruled Class. The point of contact is the
point of Revolution.

While sentimentalists are flattering
themselves on the "progress made by
the moral sentiment in politics" and point
to the deadlock in the Illinois Legisla-
ture as a proof of their conclusions, the
level headed are trying to look behind
the curtains to ascertain the facts.
What INTERESTS is it that are balk-
ing the election to the Federal Senate
of Gov. Dineen and what are the IN-
TERESTS back of Dineen? Is it packing
house against mines, or is it mines
against railroads?

JUDGE WRIGHT'S OPPORTUNITY.

Daniel Webster's motto—"The Nation,
One and Indivisible"—has stood as the
condensation of American loyalty to
country.

To this motto the Administration at
Washington has just dealt a kick in the
stomach, and is following up the initial
kick with supplemental ones.

According to the decisions of the Fed-
eral Courts, there can be no libel against
the United States in the absence of a
specific statutory declaration on the sub-
ject. There being no statutory declara-
tion on the subject, the United States
can not be libeled, and there is no war-
rant for a libel suit by the United
States.

This notwithstanding, the Adminis-
tration has instituted a libel suit in the
District of Columbia in the name of the
United States against the Press Pub-
lishing Company ("New York World")
on the ground of its allegations of cor-
rupt dealings in Panama. The Adminis-
tration justifies its conduct with the rea-
soning that, while it is true that the
United States can not bring a libel suit,
the principle is "applicable only else-
where in the Republic," and that—mark
this—"the sixty-four square miles con-
stituting the area known as the District
of Columbia are exempt from the appli-
cation of the principle."

Here we have treason with a ven-
geance. Nothing short of the dismem-
berment of a "Nation, one and indivis-
ible"; and what is more, the erection of
the District of Columbia into a section
of the land with power over the whole;
supreme above, and exempt from the
laws applicable to the—to the what?—
to the "provinces," of course.

If ever there was ground for impeach-
ment, that ground is furnished by Roose-
velt. Of course, impeachment proceed-
ings can not now be undertaken. The time
is too short, between now and March
fourth, when Roosevelt will be marched
forth. But here is where Judge Wright's
opportunity comes in.

The Presidential act is also in flagrant
"contempt of court"—of all the Federal
Court decisions on the subject. So true
a patriot as Judge Wright, with the dig-
nity of the Courts so much at heart,
can not fail to perceive the opportunity,
providentially granted to him, of exer-
cising the summary powers which, in the
instance of Gompers, Mitchell and Mor-
rison, he has exercised so summarily.

Judge Wright should hasten to hustle
Theodore Roosevelt into jail for "con-
tempt of court."

A MAKE-SHIFT SOCIALIST CON- GRESSMAN.

At first blush it may seem senseless
to say that Senator Tillman, in the
absence of a straight-out Socialist in
Congress, is performing good Socialist work.

It has been said that Jay Gould did
more for Socialism than a thousand
Socialists put together. Similar utter-
ances are heard with regard to Rocke-
feller. That is true, in a sense. Without
these men, without their work of con-
centration, Socialism would have no
ground to work upon; no ground from
which to proceed; no ground upon which
to make a forecast, and direct an agita-
tion. All this is true. But the work of
the Goulds and Rockefellers differs radi-
cally from the work of a Tillman. The
work of the Goulds and Rockefellers no
Socialist could undertake. The role of a
Tillman it is quite conceivable for a
Socialist to perform. The Huxleys and
Haeckels of three hundred years ago
spoke in the language of the Montaignes
and Bacons of those days. In so far as
their civilization furnished the facts on
which to stand, they uttered the views
of to-day in the covert language that
alone rendered those views safe to utter
at that time. An important arm in the
Socialist arsenal is the arm of exposing
the fraudulency of capitalist class af-
fectionation of virtue. This specific work
Tillman is performing to perfection,
under shelter of the capitalist guns.

Taft made some speeches in the South
redolent of philanthropy and "square
deal" for the Negro. Tillman thereupon
promptly jumps on Taft in a manner
that no Socialist could.

"I am not opposed to Negro education
at all," says Tillman, "provided it is of
the right kind." And what may that
"right kind be?" Tillman says: "The
only instrumentality available to dis-
franchise the Negro in South Carolina
was to require an educational qualifica-
tion," hence the "right kind of educa-
tion" to be given the Negro must not be
of a nature to qualify him for the suf-
frage, but of a nature to keep him dis-
qualified, because "we never intend to be
governed by the Negro, whether educated
or uneducated."

Here it is all in a nutshell—capitalist
double-dealing towards the working class.

Suggest to the Tillman class that the
Negro emigrate from South Carolina and
they will grow enraged. They need the
Negro. The Negro represents Labor.
How to keep him and induce him to stay
Tillman discloses. It is the identical
trick used by the Northern capitalists
towards the "hordes of Europe and Asia."
They want them, but only as al-
lens—a status to which they seek to
reduce the whole working class, native

and foreign, through a variety of lures.
Tillman discloses one of the lures; he
also discloses the scheme. He raises a
corner of the curtain; what that reveals
gives an idea of what is not revealed.

That Tillman is not trying to do
Socialist work is granted. All the same
he is doing pretty well as a make-shift
Socialist Congressman.

WORK—AND DIE!

"I've seen a good deal in the papers
lately about the length of the bread
lines and the thousands of men who are
out of work," said Street Cleaning Com-
missioner Edwards; "well, there needn't
be any bread lines for a few days at
least if the men really want work," he
added; and he issued a call for 10,000
men to shovel snow at 25 cents an hour.

There can be little doubt that Com-
missioner Edwards is to-day complacent-
ly patting his capon-lined belly as a
demonstrator of the theory that poverty
is not involuntary; that he who wants
work can always get it; and that it is
only the idle and shiftless who stock
the bread lines. There can be little
doubt Commissioner Edwards will even
back up his conclusion with statistics.
The needed 10,000 men did not respond.
Several thousand did. Of these, not a
few quit early. Many more thousands
"didn't care to work," "were too lazy."

Commissioner Edwards may be left
to enjoy his self-complacent conclusions.
The incident furnished by him is more
important.

Man wants work—in order to live, not
as a means to hasten his death. Man
wants work—not for the sake of work,
but for the purpose of laying up wealth
after having restored the tissue expended
in work. There is a statute in the State
that punishes attempt at suicide. If
mere bodily exertion is "work," then the
suicide worked. The work that kills the
worker is not the work he can be under-
stood to hanker after. And yet, that is
the work that 10,000 victims of capital-
ism were summoned to do, and which
their declination to undertake is con-
strued as an evidence of their being lazy.

To shovel snow at a temperature close
to zero, with the cutting wind blowing a
gale, with one's feet in the slush—may
be, is "healthy exercise," as Commis-
sioner Edwards put it. But, then, to expect
this work of a man without furnishing
him the proper clothing, shoes and head-
cover, is as absurd as to expect a sol-
dier to enter a campaign in his bare
toe. To shovel snow is "healthy work";
but it is tissue-consuming work. To demand
such work at 25 cents an hour—infinite-
ly less than required to restore the expendi-
ture of tissue—is to decree suicide.

No wonder the 10,000 men were not
forthcoming.

The "opportunity to work" offered by
Commissioner Edwards differs only in
degree from the "opportunity to work"
offered by the capitalist class. It is a
Ukase of Death—not instantaneous, but
death, all the same,—to the proletariat.

The libel suits of Roosevelt against
the "World" and Rockefeller against the
"Journal" are hailed in Wall Street as
an earnest that we shall not have "Gov-
ernment by Newspapers." Government
by Waterlogged Corporations is more
orthodox.

The conduct of the San Francisco
authorities against Emma Goldman, as
reported in these columns justifies but
one conclusion—the capitalist authorities
appreciate Emma Goldman as so first
rate a confuser of the Labor Move-
ment that they seek to give her all the
advertisement in their power as a mar-
tyr. While revolutions are fructified
by the blood of the true martyr, reaction
is given improved lease of life by manu-
factured martyrs.

Mount Casciano, near Rome, not
heard from for over 300 years, is report-
ed to be becoming vocal and to be shak-
ing the real estate for miles around to
the tune of its volcanic breath. The Messina
catastrophe is, accordingly, no local af-
fair. The tremors are extending North,
threatening the seat of the royal house.
Senator Elkins, known for a pious man,
should not fail to point to these events
as a heavenly punishment for the re-
fusal of granting him a royal son-in-
law. What less could be done by Pro-
vidence in behalf of its latest pet, the
capitalist?

Is it Attorney-General Bonaparte who
steps abreast of William G. Foster, or
Foster who stepped abreast of Bonaparte?
Foster, being called upon by the
Legislative Committee of this State to
produce the books of the Securities Ad-
vertising Company, refused to do so;
Bonaparte, being summoned by the Ju-
diary Committee of the Senate to ex-
plain the merger of the Tennessee Coal
& Iron Company and the United States
Steel Corporation, declined to appear—
Business is a private concern, whether
run privately or by the supposedly pub-
lic servants.

The New York Labor News Company
is the literary agency of the Socialist
Labor Party. It prints nothing but
sound Socialist literature.

THE "LABOR LEADER"

He who would understand the present
must know the past. On the 18th of
this month the Economic Club had a
dinner at the Astor House. Speeches
were made. Among the speakers was
Grand Chief Warren S. Stone of the
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.
Here are some of the things said by
this Labor Leader:

"Any student of sociology or political
economy will agree that labor creates
all wealth. This being true, it is a
self-evident truth that labor is entitled
to—to what? Its being the creator of
ALL wealth, to ALL it produces? Bless
you, no!—is entitled to a fair share
of the wealth it has created."

Again:

"Gentlemen, all that stands between
you and your wealth and the wave of
Anarchy that would sweep over you is
the conservative labor unions," that is,
the Labor Leader who will keep the
Unions "conservative," so that Labor,
the creator of all wealth, may be kept
from the fullness of its product, the lion
share being appropriated by the class
of the "Gentlemen" addressed.

Is the Grand Chief of the Brotherhood
of Locomotive Engineers simply a dun-
derhead? He is a 1909 after Christ repro-
duction of the several hundred before
Christ Plebs Leaders known to Roman
history.

What was the Plebs Leader? What
he was and what the Labor Leader of
to-day is will be found in the following
passages which summarize the argument
presented in the first of the two address-
es: "Two Pages from Roman History."
The passages are these:

"The Plebs Leader was not in arms
against patricianism; least of all was
he in arms to overthrow plebism, mean-
ing economic slavery. Whether or not
the Plebs Leader ever indulged in specu-
lations upon the beauty, or sacredness,
or wisdom, or the necessity of the poor
ye will always have with you, I know
not; nor does it matter. What does
matter is that the Plebs Leader 'followed
no ideals,' he 'pursued no visions,' he
was 'practical.' The Plebs Leader justly
saw in plebism a hell; he saw no way
for the extinction of the flames that de-
voured the plebs masses, at least none
that did not interfere with his own in-
terests; his political and social economy
tailed 'exactly' with that of the pa-
tricate; he sought to secure himself
against the dire ordeal of plebs in-
security and poverty. Given such prem-
ises, a policy of deception was the in-
evitable result. The Plebs Leader was
bound to work for the perpetuation of
all that was essential in the patriciate,
with himself, however, as a sharer in
the privileges. As a consequence, the
Plebs Leader could feel not a throb in
favor of any plan, nor could his mind be
open to any thought that made for the
abolition of the economic usurpation
that he enjoyed, and the obverse of
which was the dreaded hell of plebism.

In the deliberate and instinctive pursuit
of his class safety the Plebs Leader was
aided by the circumstance of his Order—
the name of plebeian.

"Just as the Plebs Leader, the Labor
Leader is 'practical,' he makes a boast
of that; he nurses no 'visions,' he 'chases
no rainbows.'"

"Just as the Plebs Leader, the Labor
Leader sees no way out of the existing
Social System. He will admit the evils
of capitalism; it is profitable that he
should; but no more than did the Plebs
Leader of old, does the Labor Leader of
to-day aim at the extinction of the
flames that devour the wage slave class.

"Just as with the Plebs Leader, the
Labor Leader accepts the social economy
of the ruling class: 'Poverty always
was; poverty always will be.'"

"Just as the Plebs Leader looked down
upon the plebeian proletariat and middle
class as a hopeless, helpless element, fit
only to be used, and brought his religion
to sanction the exploitation of these
classes, the Labor Leader places no faith
whatever in the capacity of the Working
Class to emancipate itself.

"Finally, and by reason of all this,
just as the Plebs Leader sought to
secure himself against plebs distress,
and, in doing so, propped up both the
economic power and the political priv-
ileges of patricianism at the expense of
the plebs masses, the Labor Leader of
to-day limits his aspirations to the
feathering of his own nest, and, in pur-
suit of this purpose, turns himself, at
the expense of the Working Class, into
a prop of capitalism."

"There remains just one feature to
consider, and that the most significant
of all, in the physiognomy of the Plebs
Leader—the circumstance that placed in
the Plebs Leader's hands the means to
carry out his designs. That circum-
stance, it will be remembered, was his
sharing the designation of 'plebeian.' That
designation raised the delusion of
'community of interests' between him
and the plebeian middle class and pro-
letariat; it secured for him the confi-
dence of these; it placed in his hands the
club that we saw him swing over the

head of the patriciate, and with the aid
of which he wrenched from the patriciate
the privileges he needed to safeguard
himself against the hell of plebism. This
feature was the determining factor in
the 'physiognomy' of the Plebs Leader.
It was the feature that constituted him
the strategic force that buttressed pa-
tricianism, and, consequently, could and
did operate with deadly effect upon the
victimized masses. How, on this point,
stands the case with the Labor Leader?
Exactly the same.

"The common designation of 'Labor'
that clings to the Labor Leader, and
which he is zealous to cultivate, does for
the Labor Leader what the common desig-
nation of 'plebeian' did for the Plebs
Leader: it covers him, along with the
toiling and fleeced wage slaves in the
shops, mills and yards, placing him be-
fore these in the light of a 'fellow work-
ingman.' In this instance, as in that of
the Plebs Leader, the people—capitalists
as well as proletarians—generally fall
victims to the delusion, a delusion that,
just as in the instance of the Plebs
Leader, the Labor Leader alone remains
free from. Accordingly, in this instance,
as in that of the Plebs Leader, the com-
mon delusion arms the Labor Leader
with the club wherewith to wrench from
the Capitalist Class safety for himself.

"True enough, the character of that
safety differs markedly from that which
the Plebs Leader needed, aimed at, and
got. Theoretical political equality in
capitalist society; especially in a capi-
talist republic, eliminates the political
issues that arose in patrician Rome. To-
day the only question among the ele-
ments that accept the existing Social
System is economic. And the question is
considered solved by the folks of the
'practical' brigade when a 'living' is se-
cured. That is to say, when immunity
is gained from work as a wage slave.

Obviously, the landing on the 'stairs of
safety' with the Labor Leader is far
below what it necessarily
had to be with the Plebs Leader; with
the Labor Leader the landing is brought
down to the level of the 'bribe.' The
lowering of the character of the 'safety'
with which the Labor Leader is satisfied,
quite in keeping with the lowering
morality of capitalist atmosphere, does
not affect the essence of the Labor Lead-
er's exploit, nor the nature of its effect.
That he can secure such safety; that he
is enveloped in a popular delusion which
enables him to secure such safety, and
that imparts direction to would-be imi-
tators; finally, that, bundle of ignorance,
perverseness and corruption as he is, he
succeeds in the double game of double
dealing—that is the important fact. And
that fact makes the Labor Leader of
to-day, just as the Plebs Leader of old,
a masked position, a strategic post and
force that buttresses capitalism, and the
very quality of which can not but oper-
ate demoralizingly, disastrously upon
the Working Class."

Read by the light of this historic
sketch and parallel the secret is plain
why Labor Leader Warren S. Stone, em-
phasized the economic fact that Labor
produces all wealth; and why, after a
statement that must be so fascinating
to the proletariat and hateful to the
capitalist, he crawls back demanding for
the proletariat only a "fair share"
of their own product, and then warns his
"gentlemen," his patrician hearers of the
danger to which they are exposed unless
they see to him.

History sometimes repeats itself lit-
erally.

If Senator Tillman really fears that
the "South will be debauched" by Taft's
prodigality of offices, then he lives, not
in the year 1909 A. C., but in the year
19,090 B. C. of experience. "Tis not the
small fry after petty political jobs that
will 'debauch' the South. The South
will be debauched by the property hold-
ing class whose economic interests, rapid-
ly developing as manufacturers, will
turn them into Republicans—"black Re-
publicans," at that.

"PACIFICATION" IN RUSSIA.

Stolypin's Policy Is to Build Jails and
Fill Them and Then Build More Jails.

Berlin, Germany, December 18.—The
Budget Commission of the Duma just
brought in its report upon the list of
prisons for 1909. Underneath the mass
of figures is concealed a world of sor-
row and suffering. In comparison with
the foregoing year the budget shows
an increased expense of from five to
six million rubles, the government find-
ing it necessary to build more jails, etc.
The increasing number of imprison-
ments show why these jails are "neces-
sary." The figures for the inmates
from year to year are as follows:
1903, 96,005; 1904, 91,720; 1905, 85,184;
1906, 111,403; 1907, 138,500; 1908,
169,579.

To the last total should be added
30,000 persons who are "in transport,"
making the whole number 200,000.
These figures aptly illustrate Stol-
ypin's methods of "pacification."

THAT COMPULSORY ARBITRA- TION.

New Zealand Employers Find Their
Employees See Through the Scheme
and Rebel Accordingly.

One of the most serious difficulties
threatening New Zealand is industrial
trouble. It has been described as a
land without strikes. This can no
longer be truthfully said. There have
been, in the past, a number of strikes,
which did not last long. But there is
now a strike in a coal mine which has
been continued for some time, and
what is more serious, is the support
given to the strikers, contrary to law,
by the industrial unions in various
parts of the country. It indicates not
only unrest amongst the working peo-
ple, but also a dissatisfaction with the
working of compulsory arbitration.
There is not the good feeling between
employers and employees which existed
prior to the passing of the legislation
for the settlement of industrial dis-
putes. New Zealand is realizing what
was foretold of the results of this
laudable attempt to settle strife. The
law has haled employers and employees
before a legal court as plaintiffs and
defendants, yet whatever the decision,
lawsuits do not commonly conduce to
harmony in business relations. It is
also transforming industrial troubles
into political issues. The decision of
many of the cases lies with the chair-
man appointed by the government, and
when there is a dissatisfaction with
his judgment, the government is held
to be responsible for the appointment.
The act has increased the wages, but
as the wages rose the cost of living
was also increased, until the work-
ingmen assert that they are practically
in no better condition than they were
before compulsory arbitration came
into force. The reduction in the price
of products means the closing down
of some industries or the reduction of
wages, and the trade unions are in little
humor at present to accept a reduction
without the protest of a strike.—Ex-
tract from Report of J. S. Larke, Cana-
dian Trade Commissioner in Australasia
to Dominion Government, April
23, 1908.

FENCE OR AMBULANCE?

'Twas a dangerous cliff, as they freely
confessed.
Though to walk near its crest was so
pleasant:
But over its terrible edge there had
slipped
A duke and full many a peasant.
So the people said something would have
to be done,
But their projects did not at all tally.
Some said: "Put a fence around the edge
of the cliff."

But the cry for the ambulance carried
the day,
For it spread through the neighboring
city.

A fence may be useful or not, it is true.
But each heart became brimful of pity
For those who slipped over that danger-
ous cliff:

And the dwellers in highway and alley
Gave pounds or gave pence, not to put up
a fence.
But an ambulance down in the valley.

"For the cliff is all right if you're care-
ful," they said,
"And if folks even slip and are drop-
ping,
It isn't the slipping that hurts them so
much
As the shock down below when they're
stopping."

So day after day as those mishaps oc-
curred,
Quick forth would these rescuers sally
To pick up the victims who fell off the
cliff

With the ambulance down in the val-
ley.

Then an old sage remarked, "It's a mar-
vel to me
That people give far more attention
To repairing results than to stopping the
cause.

When they'd much better aim at pre-
vention.
Let us stop at its source all this mis-
chief," cried he;

"Come, neighbors and friends, let us
rally,
If the cliff we will fence, we might al-
most dispense
With the ambulance down in the val-
ley."

"Oh, he's a fanatic," the others rejoined.
"Dispense with the ambulance? Never!
He'd dispense with all charities, too, if
he could."

No, no! We'll support them forever!
Aren't we picking folk up just as fast as
they fall?

And shall this man dictate to us? Shall
he?
Why should people of sense stop to put
up a fence

While an ambulance waits in the val-
ley?



UNCLE SAM AND

BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—If only the
employers were less greedy, how beau-
tiful they could get along with their
workmen.

UNCLE SAM—And you think a little
less greed would solve the Labor ques-
tion?

B. J.—That's it, exactly.

U. S.—There is John Jones who only
has \$10,000 in his factory; do you think
he can produce as cheaply as Richard
Roe, who works with \$50,000 capital?

B. J.—N-o-o.

U. S.—Each piece of goods that John
Jones produces costs him full twice as
much as each piece of goods that Rich-
ard Roe produces. Can John Jones compete
with Richard Roe?

B. J.—Hardly.

U. S.—What is left for him to do but
to reduce the cost of his production?

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

WORKING FOR THE PARTY PRESS IN PROVIDENCE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Section Providence, Socialist Labor Party, has actively taken up the work of increasing the circulation of The People. The Press Committee has made a report recommending a house-to-house canvass, regularly one Sunday in the month; that newsdealers be requested to handle the Weekly People, and that a newsboy be employed and given a premium and liberal percentage for all households whom he secures to take the Daily or Sunday People. The Press Committee further urges upon the members to secure renewals of subscriptions, and that at each business meeting of the Section members be called upon to report their work for the Party Press.

In the matter of books and literature, the Press Committee recommended that the old stock be sold out and a newer stock from the Labor News Company be secured.

G. M. S.
Providence, R. I., January 15.

A CRY FROM THE RANKS FOR UNITY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Please allow me space in The People to inform Wayland, Debs and all others "it may concern" that we, the rank and file of all labor, do demand unity of all labor; we don't intend to be led to the auction block to be sold to the highest bidder as Gompers and Mitchell tried to do in the last election. Such traitors to labor as they are, are inciting a bloody revolution. I say "Woe to all such men. Talk unity to such men and they will roam at the mouth."

It is plain to be seen that it is either Unity of all labor, or a bloody revolution. The working class must take their choice.

J. W. Finley,
Montrose, Colo., January 11.

ENDORSES UNITY PROPOSITION OF S. P. LOCAL TERRE HAUTE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The below resolution was passed by Section St. Clair County, Ill., and I was instructed to submit it for publication.

Resolved, That Section St. Clair County considers the Terre Haute S. P. resolution on unity a step in the right direction, and Section St. Clair County hereby signifies its readiness to meet with S. P. locals for the purpose stated in said resolution, which is as follows:

"Resolved, That we of the International Socialist party and a branch of our state party, known as Local Terre Haute, do desire to investigate the cause of disunity in the Socialist Labor elements, and if such can be ascertained we will do our utmost to straighten unity; and

"Whereas, We learn we have two elements in the political field with the same force of action and desiring to obtain the same goal (social industrial democracy); and

"Whereas, We, of this Socialist branch, desiring the solidarity of the labor elements on the political field, it behooves us to unite so as to obtain our final goal, thus recording our true Marxian doctrine, 'Workers of the world, unite'; and, be it further

"Resolved, That if such resolutions are adopted by this body upon due action, we instruct our secretary to have a copy of the same printed and forwarded to our state secretary with instructions to have a copy of the same printed for the various branches of our state to be voted on for preparatory and final action to unity, with an amendment that our state secretary be instructed to attach a copy of the previous questions brought up or spoken of at our last convention, so that the branches may be informed on the same and be prepared to know what to talk on."

G. A. Jennings, Organizer,
East St. Louis, Ill., January 13.

QUIZZING HARDIE IN BOSTON.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—James Keir Hardie, M. P., delivered an address, "Reforms Accomplished by the British Labor Party," in Ford Hall, Boston, Sunday evening, January 17. The speech was substantially the one reported

in the Daily People of Wednesday, January 13, but inasmuch as questions were invited, an account of the same may be of interest.

The first question Hardie was asked at the conclusion of his speech was:

Is the political and social development greater in the United States than Great Britain?

Answer—Politically we are twenty-five years ahead of the states; socially you have the best of us.

Question—Did I understand Mr. Hardie to say that women in England were working fourteen and fifteen hours a day for one dollar and a half a week?

Answer—Unquestionably so.

Question—Has not the condition of the working people in England, due to labor parties disturbing matters, grown worse?

Ans.—No. Take the ironworkers in Pittsburgh. The treatment they receive and the conditions in your large centers such as New York, Chicago and Philadelphia is every bit as bad, if not worse, than in Great Britain.

Ques.—Will the capitalist class submit to a victory of the workers at the ballot box?

Ans.—Let us get a majority. If they do not submit we would soon make short shift of them.

Ques.—Can a people be politically equal who are not economically equal?

Ans.—No.

Ques.—How can the trade unionist unite with the Socialist when the one says the interest of capital and labor are identical? While the Socialists takes the position that the capitalist plunders and robs labor?

Ans.—It is not true that trade unionists state the interests of Capital and Labor are identical. The fact that they organize proves to the contrary.

Ques.—Which is the most autocratic and aristocratic, the British House of Lords or the United States Senate?

Ans.—About five years ago a London editor offered a prize of five pounds to the one sending in the best name describing jointly the House of Commons and the Lords. The winner sent in two words, which translated, read, "Rogues, both."

Ques.—What is the attitude of the Labor party towards Home Rule?

Ans.—The Labor party to a man are Home Rulers. We vote with the Irish members and they vote with us often.

Ques.—Why did the Labor party censure Victor Grayson, and fail to expel him, and why does the Labor party stand on Liberal and Tory platforms? Is not that fusion with capitalist parties?

Ans.—There seems to be a misconception about the Grayson incident. Let me explain. We, the Labor party, had an agreement with the Premier, Mr. Asquith, that the unemployed question would be discussed on the Monday following the Thursday Victor Grayson made the scene in the House. The Labor party is an organization, and we must have discipline. And I for one refuse to be held responsible for the acts of another. As to fusion, there is no such thing. We may have agreements, but no fusion.

Ques.—The speaker states that Socialism would develop a higher civilization. Is there not a danger that it will be destroyed as others have by barbarians?

Ans.—In the first place, there are no barbarian countries at present. There is danger from India and China, because of ourselves not inculcating them with our views, leaving them to military officials and Captains of Industry.

Ques.—The speaker says it is easier to organize men than women. Please explain.

Ans.—The average woman thinks she is not always going to work. She spends her time expecting or looking for a husband. But in the textile industries of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Scotland, the women are well organized, receiving the same pay for equal work performed.

Ques.—Would Mr. Hardie suggest or recommend a good book to read so as to get a grasp of what Socialism means?

Ans.—Well, there is a book, "New Worlds for Old," by H. G. Wells. But as it is a large book, costing about \$1.50, I would suggest another by the same author, who is a very intelligent gentleman, which you may get for about ten cents. It is called "Miserable Both."

Ques.—Will Mr. Hardie explain the position of the Labor party in regard to a former Labor leader, now a Cabinet member, John Burns?

Ans.—I will discuss principles but refuse to discuss personalities.

Ques.—Do not the immediate demands of the trade unionist and Socialist differ in Great Britain, causing confusion, with a tendency to defeat their own ends?

Ans.—No, it does not cause confusion. We have found that if we went it alone it would be a long time before we got any representatives in the House of

Commons, and ushering in of the Co-operative Commonwealth would be a dream. So we decided to come to an agreement, and you see the results. Let the Socialists and trade unionists agree on one ticket, and you will sweep Massachusetts.

Ques.—What is the difference between the Labor party and the Social Democratic Federation?

Ans.—The Social Democrats refuse to co-operate with the trade unionists unless they come out flatfooted for Socialism. The Labor party takes them as they are.

Ques.—What would you do with a James J. Hill under Socialism?

Ans.—Make him probably manager of the state railways.

The chairman requested Hardie to have a closing word. Hardie alluded to the great change since he first visited the United States fifteen years ago; spoke of the work of individuals in the Settlement work as doing the work of the State; quoted Lincoln to show that Socialist ideas are no importation; drew lessons from the Revolution, and from the abolition of chattel slavery; stated that men were not lacking moral fibre in those days, and urged the young men present to take up the fight for Socialism.

John Sweeney,
Boston, Mass., January 18.

S. P. PEOPLE "CATCHING ON."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—It is not my intention to hold up any publication for ridicule. But knowing as I do the utter uselessness of submitting this article to any S. P. organ, I take this method of showing what I think is a bad precedent. In a few instances lately, the "New York Call" puts up to its subscribers the proposition of trading with "Call" advertisers, and as a return after a purchase of \$15 the purchaser is entitled to a dollar's worth of books, as a premium for their steadfastness in doing as the "Call" asks them. Now, on its face, this seems like poor Socialism. Perhaps it is, but nevertheless it is a very profitable investment from a financial point of view to the "Call" and also the merchant who joins hands with the would-be Socialist agitator. And it is very unprofitable to the "Call" reader who supports any such methods. The "Call" in this instance departs from the semblance of class-consciousness, and stands out boldly for capitalist policies. No compromise has no meaning to this dyed-in-the-wool "Socialist" press.

Another matter I want to mention is this: D. D. Barrett, of this city, brought up a set of resolutions in the S. P. local of Terre Haute on December 27, which created quite a stir among the pure and simple politicians, and brought down Mt. Etna in the form of James O'Neal who exerted himself against unity. Here is a striking remark of O'Neal's: "If we unite with the S. L. P. it will be but a short time until we will again have disunity, and the S. L. P. will have increased their organization at the expense of the S. P." That is one of the many reasons for opposing unity. O'Neal is right. By uniting the pure and simple political Socialist will soon see the error of his ways and will demand a thorough democratic organization and a party-owned press, and O'Neal's job on the "New York Call" would be a thing of the past.

E. J. Thompson,
Terre Haute, Ind., January 10.

S. P. LOG-ROLLING IN TUCSON, ARIZONA.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Down here in Tucson, Ariz., the Socialist party local has just gotten through with some political log-rolling, the same as that organization has done in various other parts of the country. By the enclosed clipping from the Tucson "Arizona Daily Star," December 13, 1908, you will see that Charles M. Murphy, mayoralty candidate of the S. P. is also on the Citizens' ticket for the same office, and you will notice that the "Daily Star," the Republican organ, gives Murphy a great "boost."

That the S. P. membership was conscious of their treachery to the principles of the class struggle in this instance can be seen from the following circumstances. The sample ballot in the "Daily Star" appeared on December 13, the day before election. The S. P. men knowing that they would have to make a pretence of "protest," got out a circular late Saturday night, December 12. But they were careful to allow the other local paper, "The Tucson Citizen," to go to press before making known the deal. The reason for this was that while they were going to make a show of protest, they didn't want too many people to learn of their "protest." If the "Citizen" had exposed the scheme many more people would have been reached.

Another sign pointing to the guilty conscience of the S. P. men here is the fact that two of their members, A. H. Worsley and A. C. Roswell, were ordered suspended, the former for having supported a Democrat in the county election.

E. J. Thompson,
Terre Haute, Ind., January 10.

EMMA GOLDMAN TRIPPED UP BY S. L. P. MAN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Emma Goldman, advertised and announced as the "Queen of Anarchists," (like Ferris Hartman's famous bottomless ship, sailless navy, and soldierless army, Anarchists will preside over landless empires and subjectless minorities, the "Devil" and "Joan of Arc," has been in Los Angeles lately. She misrepresented the Socialist Movement in general, and the Socialist Labor Party and the Editor of The People in particular. Several members and sympathizers of Section Los Angeles, S. L. P., attended some of her lectures which were mostly of an idealistic character. She quoted largely from Ibsen, Tolstoi, Gorky, Kropotkin and Hegel. She lacks knowledge of economic determinism, and evolutionary processes in ethnological development, and founders hopelessly in a sea of abstractions, all the time bewailing that she is misunderstood and persecuted. She ends by expressing the belief that she will become a martyr and die for what she understands to be a principle. Like Mark Twain's good little boy, her main hope is to become a martyr, thus proving that individualism leads not only to assassination but to suicide.

Her lecture on "Minorities vs. Majorities" was, to use the expression of Eli Perkins, referring to Brother Cleveland's bible stories, "the poorest in logic I ever heard." "Majorities have always been wrong and tyrannical; even Anarchistic majorities would be despotic. Society should be composed of intelligent minorities. Christ was

an Anarchist. De Leon is a pope, and those who believe him are his disciples. Socialists are governmentalists; therefore believe in tyranny. Production should be carried on by intelligent minorities. The I. W. W. (meaning the St. John-Trautmann outfit), is an Anarchist organization." These are some of her expressions.

As the chairman did not announce the floor open for discussion, I asked her why she did not allow "liberty" to the minority to discuss or criticize her lecture. Her answer was: "Did you ask for the floor? If you had, you would have gotten it."

The next night we were present to get the floor, but had to fight for the "liberty" to use it. At first the "queen" decided by an intelligent minority of one, with due consideration for the "liberty" of the opposition, that the floor could not be used by others as she had to catch a train. But objections from the audience, caused the "intelligent minority" to change her mind.

Just why, if it was tyrannical for the majority to decide matters, it would not be despotic for minorities to do likewise, Miss Goldman did not explain. That capitalists claim they are "intelligent minorities," and manage things to-day to the misery and horror of the working class, did not seem to interest Miss Goldman. The class struggle and the theory of surplus value are too sordid and too deep for her to bother with. She accused the writer of lying about her and John Most, and wailed that the latter was not here to defend himself. I stated my willingness to prove my statements, but she had no time to debate. Still she took time to denounce and slander De Leon, and he was not present either.

I quoted Proudhon's, Beck's, and Greene's mutual banking systems: showed that Anarchists contemplate "preexisting powers," capitalists, mutual banks, methods of credit and interest, and private property in land. I took up Max Stirner's individualism, and showed how it leads to assassination, by extolling the importance of individual acts. I exposed the false doctrine that governmental tyranny is the fault of individuals, and explained the true doctrine that class-government is bad and based on private ownership in the means of production and exchange.

Then she opened up with abuse and insinuated I was a fool. That was what she called argument. She asked why I did not quote Kropotkin, and Reclus, and claimed Marx and Engels laid down an iron-clad system to which all future Socialists must bow or be expelled. I held up Marx' "Capital" which she had the previous evening denounced as the Socialists' Bible, and told her if she would point me out in Marx' work where he laid down an iron-clad system for future society, she could have the book. I stated, on the other hand, I could show her a dozen Anarchist books, each with its patent Anarchist scheme. She refused to debate the proposition further but jumped on the Communist Manifesto viciously. She admitted that Anarchists had conflicting economic systems for their schemes, and that some believed in private property. But she said all Anarchists agree on one thing, that is "individual liberty." I saw the ghosts of czars, I saw Emperor Wilhelm, Teddy the Terrible, and every crowned and uncrowned tyrant, every capitalist master, saying devoutly, "Amen."

As to her attacks on De Leon claiming he wished to dominate the St. John-Trautmann I. W. W., she did not give one instance where De Leon, the S. L. P., or any sub-division of the S. L. P., tried to dominate the I. W. W. That wage workers, belonging to the S. L. P. were also members of the I. W. W., and expressed their opinions on social, economic and political questions, the same as other members, who were not Socialists, is admitted. They would be derelict in their duty if they had not done so.

As to the position of The People on anarchy, we had a few copies of The Weekly People with the article, "A Word to Anarchists," and distributed them.

Student,
Los Angeles, Cal., January 12.

50-CENT BOOKS.

Origin of the Family, Engels.
Positive School Criminology, Ferri.
Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History, Kautsky.
Social and Philosophical Studies, La-fargue.

Socialism, Positive and Negative, La Monte.
Revolution and Counter Revolution, Marx.
Collectivism and Industrial Evolution, Vandervelde.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.,
28 City Hall Place, New York.

MORE REPUDIATION OF SLUMMERY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The enclosed resolution was submitted to and approved by the membership of Local Union No. 30, I. W. W., on the night of January 11.

Requesting you to kindly publish the same, we will thank you in advance for L. U. No. 30.

Edward McDowell,
Godfrey Kinder,
Newport News, Va., January 14.

(Enclosure.)

RESOLUTION, LOCAL UNION NO. 30, I. W. W.

Whereas, The meeting held at Chicago, Ill., called the fourth annual convention of the I. W. W. was not a representative body of the organization, as some of the properly-credited delegates were refused a seat on very flimsy charges; and

Whereas, The Preamble and Constitutional Amendments are, the first an enigma, the latter an outrage and disgrace for the following reasons:

The vote for a General Secretary does not give the membership any choice but to accept the present officers.

Amendment No. 2.—Would exclude all isolated members.

Amendment No. 25.—Would exclude many bona fide wage workers.

Amendment No. 27.—Would destroy the members' right of suffrage, what the capitalist class have been trying for years.

Amendment No. 30 often would be an impossibility.

By Amendment No. 31 this I. W. W. and many more would be taxed without representation.

Amendment No. 32 is confiscation, worthy of the A. P. of L.

Amendment No. 34 is another grab for those who never contribute a penny to same.

Resolution No. 1 is a farce, it having been in force for quite a while, witness the Kerr advertisement. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Local goes on record repudiating the actions of the so-called fourth annual convention and refuses to take any part in the referendum; and also, be it

Resolved, That Local Union No. 30 refuses to give any further support to the Chicago Headquarters; also be it

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing be spread on the minutes, a copy be sent to William E. Trautmann and a copy to the Daily and Weekly People.

For Local Union No. 30, Newport News, Va.

Edward McDowell,
Godfrey Kinder,
Edward Schade,
—Committee.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

V. C. VANCOUVER, B. C.—The Address, issued this month by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, demonstrates beyond peradventure that the S. L. P. has still a useful mission to perform. What is more—that that mission was never more important to perform than now.
Next question next week.

F. W., ST. LOUIS, MO.—Now to your last question—Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee, for instance. He claims: "We of Wisconsin are doing things." So they are. But what "things"? The only thing worth doing, consolidate the Labor vote, they are conspicuously not doing. Wisconsin is one of the States in which the election returns by counties prove that the Socialist party vote declined generally in industrial centers. The "things" they are "doing" in Wisconsin, as elsewhere, is to get, or seek to get, political jobs for hangers-on.

A. T. D., ROCHESTER, N. Y.—The stock of a corporation may be owned by 1,000,000 different persons; and yet only 100 persons of these may own such an overwhelming majority of the shares that the other 999,900 persons have nothing to say, and are victims in fact. Corporations are capitalist states in miniature. A capitalist state may consist of 70,000,000 citizens, supposed shareholders in the wealth of the state. Yet only 500,000 of these may hold the swag—and thereby the remaining 69,500,000 where the hair is short.

A. W. Y., TACOMA, WASH.—There are people with minds so constituted that they can hold only one idea in their heads. With such people, if the attempt is made to make them understand that it requires 3 together with 2 in order to make 5, they get confused. Whatever is said in favor of 3 by so much knocks 2 out of their heads; and vice versa: whatever is said in favor of 2 by so much also knocks 3 out of their head. These people can never rise to the synthetic conception of 2 + 3 = 5. They cannot hold two facts in their heads. There is the pop-gun mind. They are crippled minds that should be pitied, were it not that, in many instances, they are insolently vicious, and viciously insolent.

"STUDENT" LOS ANGELES, CAL.—The direct cause of Bakunin's falling out with the International Workingmen's Association was his repudiation of Marx-Engels' "despotism," and advocacy of Anarchism, with private murder, theft and all that that implies.
Next question next week.

R. S., OMAHA, NEB.—A man, whether young or old, has no business to invest in stocks except under one of two conditions, or both together—either he must invest in a sum large enough, and have enough money in reserve, to compel his voice being heard and felt; or he must know the main guy in the concern personally, and know he can trust him. In all other cases—KEEP YOUR MONEY.

G. I., TOPEKA, KANS.—Many are the sides from which information comes in to the effect that the S. L. P. vote was simply credited to the S. P. The S. L. P. can afford to miss all the votes that were stolen from it, while not a hundred-fold the number, though credited to the S. P., can redeem it.

L. B. M., COVINGTON, KY.—The only work worth reading that Proudhon ever wrote was "The Philosophy of Misery." The value of that work lies in that it furnished Marx with the occasion to produce his work, "The Misery of Philosophy"—a work in which the bunch of economic and sociologic blunders, which constitute Proudhon's work, "The Philosophy of Misery," is dissected, exposed, torn to shreds, and settled for all time. The way to read the two works is this: First read Marx's "The Misery of Philosophy;" then read Proudhon's "The Philosophy of Misery;" then read again Marx's "The Misery of Philosophy." It is a liberal education on the subjects treated.

E. L., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—"The S. L. P. is dead" is a motto, which, on the lips of those who quote it, stands in suggestive contrast with the plenary of those who do the quoting. On the lips of the place-seekers, who have failed in their efforts within the S. L. P., are now trying the trick in the S. P., the motto exposes its quaters as "leeches who, having penetrated the shell of a turtle only to find the creature has long

been dead, deem it expedient to form a new attachment to a fresh turtle."

C. W., LIGHT, MO.—Why discuss shades of taste? Seeing you have graduated into reading and liking The People above all other publications, promote the taste by promoting the number of its readers.

D. B. M., GRANITE, OKLA.—Now to your second question—

"Political functions," besides being the functions exercised by a dominant class over a dominated class, also comprise the function of compelling the members of the dominant class itself to behave towards one another. This "internal police function" naturally flows from class rule. Where there is a class rule, there must needs be war all along the line—even among the rulers themselves.

Next question next week.

S. J., ST. CHARLES, MO.—However vain-glorious Mr. Debs's posture was during the late campaign, when affected contempt for the S. L. P. on account of its smallness, the judgment that "he was like the fly on the wheel" is rather severe. A man must be extraordinarily well ballasted who will escape fatuity when the foe themselves make the racket over him that the Taft press made over Debs. He should be excused, and rather pitied, for having taken his boost seriously.

E. R., RACINE, WIS.—The Single Tax plan of demanding that rent be handed over to the State to be used for the remission of taxation, Marx well characterized as being "only the frank expression of the hate which the industrial capitalist feels for the landed proprietor, who appeals to him as a useless encumbrance, a superfluity in the otherwise harmonious whole of bourgeois production." That people who are not bourgeois should ever have been seized with the Single Tax microbe is explainable only by the effect, upon the unguarded, of the revolutionary phrases ever conspicuous in tax reform declamations.

H. B. W., FAIRBANKS, ALASKA.—True enough, "politically alone the tools of production cannot be taken and held." The truth of this principle no organization has more convincingly expounded than the S. L. P. True enough, "attention must be paid to the industrial field." The truth of this also no organization has demonstrated, as the S. L. P. has. The trouble with the few hotheads, who honestly object to the S. L. P.'s principle of political action, is that they want physical force only. This the S. L. P. has proven to be irrational, where the notion is not a mask for slumery. See above answer to A. W. Y., Tacoma, Wash.

W. A. S., SYDNEY, N. S. W.—The S. L. P. membership ratified the clause on Trades Union officials which the late S. L. P. convention altered.
Next question next time.

G. A. P., FITCHBURG, MASS.—The loss of votes by the S. P. in most of the industrial centers does more than indicate a decline in support from the wage slave class. The decline also affords an insight into the present composition of what vote the S. P. preserved in such centers. The decline justifies the conclusion that the desertion of wage slave support went further than the difference between the vote of 1904 and the vote last year would indicate, and that the present vote contains a revolutionized makeup—the bulk being, not proletarian but "literati, professionals, reformers," etc.

G. R. A., ST. JOSEPH, MO.—The function that Huxley confidently attributed to the "white mice" of Science in the work of "destroying the fortifications" of prelatial ignorance, may as confidently be expected by the S. L. P. in the work of destroying the fortifications of ignorance raised by the private interests of the S. P. against the S. L. P. Learn to labor and to wait.

M. B., FAIR OAKS, CALIF.; E. J. K., SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.; T. M. H., FIELDBROOK, CALIF.; J. R. GIFFORD, ARK.; G. C. S., SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.; W. McC., STRATFORD, ONT.; J. A. L., PHOENIX, ARIZ.; D. B. MOORE, GRANITE, OKLA.; G. A. MONTCLAIR, COLO.; F. D. T., DOVER, N. H.; J. B. MYS-TIC, IA.; O. F., COLUMBUS, O.; R. W. S., BALTIMORE, MD.—Matter resolved.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Paul Augustine, National Secretary,
25 City Hall Place,
CANADIAN S. L. P.
National Secretary, Philip Courtenay,
144 Ducess Ave., London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
(The Party's literary agency.)
25 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.

Notices—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p.m.

S. L. P. SECTIONS, TAKE NOTICE!

In accordance with Section I. of Article XI. of the National Constitution, I hereby submit the following resolution which has received the required number of seconds:

"Resolved, That Section 14 of Article XI. of the Party Constitution be amended by striking out the words 'A member dropped from the roll for non-payment of dues shall not be admitted to membership except upon payment of six months' dues.'"

Amendments to the above resolution are in order until February 10, 1909.

Paul Augustine,
National Secretary.
New York, January 5, 1909.

CANADA N. E. C.

Regular meeting of N. E. C., S. L. P., of Canada, was held at 67 Bathurst street, Bryce elected to chair. Roll call showed Morrison absent; excused. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Communications: From Section London, electing Thorn in place of Pearce, resigned; same accepted, and Thorn seated. From C. H. Chase, New York, General Secretary of the I. W. W., outlining plan of organizing workers along industrial lines. Moved that this matter be laid on table. Carried. From Paul Augustine, New York, regarding organizers; also outlining Correspondence Bureau plan; same received and filed. From Manager of The People, giving complete list of subscribers of Weekly People in Canada. Action: National Secretary ordered to send circular letter to each subscriber; carried. From Baker, Vancouver, relating to condition of Section Vancouver. Replied to by National Secretary. Action endorsed and secretary instructed to write further; carried. From F. Martin, Toronto, in reference to D. De Leon being in Toronto, February 13 and 14. Action of National Secretary endorsed.

Moved by Rodgers, seconded by Thorn, that National Secretary notify Section London of their endeavor to bring Daniel De Leon here for a lecture. Carried.

National Secretary instructed to notify us for special meeting next Sunday if we can secure De Leon. Carried. Adjourned.

F. Hasselgrove,
Recording Secretary.

CONNECTICUT S. E. C.

Regular meeting held January 13 at headquarters, 34 Elm street, Hartford. Chas Backofen of Rockville, elected chairman. Fred Lechner and A. Gierginsky absent.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

The following communications received, acted on, and filed. From National Secretary Paul Augustine, sending 200 due stamps; asking for credentials of J. Marek; regarding campaign list and German application blanks. From Section Rockville, sending campaign list. From J. T. Hunter, New York, sending complete report of his campaign tour through Connecticut. From J. Marek, New Haven, receipt of his credential.

Financial report: Income, \$20.51; expenditures, \$22.55.

The State Secretary, Fred Feller-mann, reported the following: All sections of the State have ordered due stamps during the last half year except Bridgeport, New Britain and Kensington; the financial report was sent out to all Sections; next month referendum vote will be sent out on place of holding State convention.

Frank Knotek,
Recording Secretary.

DETROIT LECTURES.

Section Detroit, Socialist Labor Party, will begin its course of lectures for the winter months SUNDAY, January 31, in Hine Hall, 73 Gratiot avenue. Lectures will be held every other Sunday thereafter.

The subject for the first meeting is "The Last Election and Its Significance." H. Richter speaker. On the following Sunday the subject is "Industrial Evolution," by James Murray.

All are invited. Admission free.

When you have read this paper, pass it on to a friend.

CALIFORNIANS ATTEND

Los Angeles, Cal., Jan. 12, 1909.
To the Sections and Members-at-Large of the Socialist Labor Party in California.

Comrades:—
The Washington S. E. C. of the S. L. P. has notified the S. E. C. of California that it has made arrangements with August Gillhaus to make a tour through Washington and Oregon, for the purpose of agitation and educating the workers. It calls upon the S. E. C. of California to take similar action and put the matter before the Sections and members-at-large, in order to enable them to prepare to help in this laudable work. The California S. E. C. heartily endorses the plan, and calls upon the Sections and members-at-large to aid financially and morally in the success of the tour.

The plan is to have Gillhaus in Washington for one or two months, and then send him to Oregon for a time, and, afterwards, have him in California for such length of time as may be thought necessary. He can then start back to Washington by way of Oregon. In this way he can go on agitating and educating in the three states indefinitely.

Now, comrades, this should be done. This desirable, necessary, constructive work should be zealously and determinedly attended to. This laudable work, at this really golden hour of opportunity for the S. L. P., should unhesitatingly command our best, untiring, united energies and efforts; and the sure way of assisting the cause of the party in this projected tour of Comrade Gillhaus is by persistent financial as well as moral support. Look over the field and realize the momentous opportunity at this hour for the S. L. P. to build up itself to spread the revolutionary principles of Socialism, to agitate and educate the workers, and also to crystallize the knowledge now being and continuing to be spread among the workers into conscious and sound organization.

Comrades, rely to the financial and moral support of the tour of Comrade Gillhaus in the three states; rally to the support and continued well-being of the party's organs, the Daily and Weekly People. The time is at hand, the hour has struck for renewed and more and more persistent activity. The tour is under the joint supervision of the Washington and California State Executive Committees, and it develops upon them to organize Oregon and build up Sections there. In this way the Pacific Coast can be well organized. So on with the good work, comrades, and let not a single one of us be found indifferent, callous or wanting as to the work that ever lies at hand! Make the Gillhaus tour a continuous success!

And now as to the Press Security League. Comrades, the power of the Party Press as a weapon in the class conflict is incalculable, that is, if it be persistently used; and it depends solely upon the membership to see that this weapon is vigorously wielded by them, and also placed in the hands of the workers and the party's friends. In view of this and for this express purpose, the Press Security League was formed. The Press Security League consists of two classes of members: one class to be subscribers who will secure subscriptions for the Party Press; the other to be contributors who will secure operating funds for the Party Press. Therefore, let us all at once engage ourselves in this highly important work, and become members of the Press Security League. SO ON WITH THE VALIANT WORK FOR THE PARTY PRESS!!

For particulars as to membership cards, etc., write to L. C. Haller, 317 East Seventh street, Los Angeles, California; or to A. C. Kihn, 28 City Hall Place, New York City.

The vote on seat of S. E. C. and member of the National Executive Committee resulted in the election of Olive M. Johnson as member of the N. E. C. and Los Angeles as the seat of the S. E. C.

For the California State Executive Committee,

Louis C. Haller,
Secretary-Treasurer.
317 E. 7th St., Los Angeles, Cal.

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WITH
VERA-CASCARA
THE BEST REMEDY FOR
Habitual Constipation
AND
Torpid Liver
100 PILLS 25¢
H. L. BERGER
CHEMIST & APOTHECARY
212 AVENUE C, NEW YORK

OPERATING FUND.

Daily People.—Enclosed please find \$5 to be applied to that \$30,000 mortgage of Kang origin.
Geo. F. Spettel,
St. Paul, Minn., January 18.

As a rule rumors of this kind, even though no faith be given them by the greater number of our supporters, manage to take root in the credulity of some new comers within the Movement. Be that as it may, we will gladly run the risk of adverse criticism if showered upon us with the implied humor of Comrade Spettel and hope that somebody will oblige us by increasing that mortgage to \$60,000.

Geo. F. Spettel, St. Paul, Minn. \$ 5.00
J. D. DeShazer, Durango, Col. 1.00
L. A. 30, I. W. W., Newport News, Va. 5.00
M. Engel, San Francisco, Cal. 2.00
Howard Tyrone, Denver, Col. .50
Geo. Anderson, Denver, Col. .50
A. Sympathizer, New York. \$3.00
B. Burgholz, Elizabeth, N. J. 1.00
B. Lane, So. Norwalk, Conn. .10
J. J. Meighan, Coytesville, N. J. 1.00
Jos. Kalasch, San Francisco, Cal. 1.50
John Holler, San Francisco, Cal. 1.50
A. Bernasconi, W. Hoboken, N. J. .15

\$22.25
Previously acknowledged \$3,465.27

Total \$3,487.52

PRESS SECURITY LEAGUE, S. L. P.

Contributors' Report:

New York, Rochester—
C. Luedicke 50
C. Ruby 1.50
M. Schreiber 1.00
J. Vollerston 50

New York City—

13th and 15th A. D's, S. L. P. 1.00

Brooklyn—

F. H. Bunce 14.00

Connecticut, West Haven—

O. Rucker 5.00

Connecticut, New Haven—

M. Stodel 50
J. Marek 50
H. Gunn 35
M. Bumstead 35

Virginia, Richmond—

A. McCulloch 50
A. Muller 50
T. Hollens 35

Massachusetts, Pittsfield—

H. Schmalhaus 1.00

Washington, Port Angeles—

Adolph Anderson 2.00

Total 29.35
Previously acknowledged 42.75

Grand total \$72.00

A. C. Kihn, Sec'y-Treas.

Press Security League,
January 20, 1909.

SECTION PASSAIC CO., S. L. P.

Section Passaic County, Socialist Labor Party, will hold a general meeting on FRIDAY, January 29, 8 p. m., at 184 Main street, Paterson, N. J. Delegates to the State convention of the Party and other officers will be elected.

Organizer.

GILLHAUS IN ST. LOUIS, MO.

August Gillhaus, national organizer and late Presidential candidate of the Socialist Labor Party, will speak on SUNDAY, January 31, at 2:30 p. m., at Concordia Club Hall, 1441 Chouteau street, "The Labor Movement."

MONDAY, February 1st, at 8 p. m., at Deway Hall, Broadway and Shenandoah.

TUESDAY, February 2nd, at 8 p. m., at Concordia Club Hall, 1441 Chouteau avenue.

WEDNESDAY, February 3rd, at 8 p. m., (German lecture) at S. L. P. Headquarters, 1717 S. Broadway.

Discussions and questions after address. Admission free.

On February 4th and 5th Gillhaus will speak in St. Charles, Mo.

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Price, Fifteen Cents.

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BUSINESS NOTES

Like our lamented friend Micawber, we are waiting for something to turn up that will again bring to us the flood of subscribers to the Weekly People that came in years gone by. Till now we have waited in vain. That this let-up is due to the hard times, goes without saying. All publications are feeling the effects of it. Our conviction is doubly strengthened by the work done by our band of every-week hustlers who, though they leave no stone unturned to procure a new subscriber or renewal, are also falling behind in their work.

Reassuring along these lines consoles us somewhat for our disappointments and must also act similarly on our friends who try their best to obtain new subscribers but without success.

It seems to us, however, that such justification is overdone at times. In these days we can almost picture to ourselves the mental antics of some of our well-meaning but very pessimistic comrades in approaching a prospective subscriber for a yearly subscription to the Weekly People. If the prospect should, unfortunately, be minus a button to his coat or have a hole in his trousers, our well-meaning agent has already half the starch taken out of him and cuts down his "brace" from

a yearly to a half or even a three months' sub. Should our man be working part time or not at all, our supporter of the Party Press collapses like a dish rag and we verily believe would refuse a subscription from such a person were it offered him unsolicited.

We must not judge a man by his appearance when approaching him for a subscription. He is of the working class and as such should help support the paper which champions his cause. Brace him for a subscription no matter what your preconceived opinion of his financial condition may be. Probably he is more anxious to help than what you have given him credit for. Push the Party Press under all circumstances.

Fred Brown, Cleveland, Ohio. 3
30th and 32nd A. D's, New York. 5
Chas. Pierson, Chicago, Ill. 7
Robt. Strach, San Antonio, Texas. 5
L. Glinther, Colorado Springs, Colo. 5
R. W. Stevens, Baltimore, Md. 2
Section Denver, Colo. 5
33rd and 35th A. D's, New York. 3
A. Gillhaus. 2

Prepaid Cards:—Herbert Johnson, St. Paul, Minn., \$3.00; Section Denver, Colo., \$5.00.

MEMBERS AND FRIENDS

WE WANT YOUR HELP IN MAKING THE DAILY PEOPLE CONCERT A SUCCESS—THE THINGS YOU CAN DO.

Three weeks from to-morrow is the date of the Daily People concert. Within this time the work that remains to be done to make the affair an unparalleled success must be accomplished. The Entertainment Committee has its work well in hand, and it now remains with our friends to do the rest.

The most important thing is for everybody to get busy selling tickets, and there is no one who cannot sell some. One sympathizer of the Party sells on an average of one hundred and fifty tickets for each of these affairs, and while all of us cannot do as well we can still sell some. The thing is to do the best that we can, all of us doing that assures the success of the concert.

Party members who have not yet secured a supply of tickets should get them from the organizers of their districts; or by applying to L. Abelson, organizer, at 28 City Hall Place; or at the Daily People office. Sympathizers of the Party willing to help, are requested to get tickets from L. Abelson. Presents are wanted for the Bazaar. Send them to L. Abelson, 28 City Hall Place. Our out-of-town friends can help by sending presents.

A handsome souvenir program will be issued for which advertisements are solicited. Space in the program will be at the rate of one dollar an inch of column. Dummies of the program may be had from L. Abelson, 28 City Hall Place. See what you can do toward making the souvenir program a profitable one.

CHICAGO CONCERT AND DANCE.

A grand concert and dance will be given by the West Side Branch of the Socialist Labor Party on SUNDAY, February 7, at the Chicago Hebrew Institute, 485 W. Taylor street.

The silver-tongued orator Oscar Neebe will deliver an address.

Best programme. Admission fifteen cents. Beginning at 7 o'clock.

LOS ANGELES ENTERTAINMENT.

On SATURDAY evening, February 6, there will be the regular monthly social taking place at S. L. P. Hall, 317 East Seventh street, Los Angeles, Cal. The "Man with the Hoe" will be present, and also the "Man with the Fiddle," as well as the "Lady with the Cake," and the "Girl Who Likes to Dance." Readers of The People are cordially invited to partake of the enjoyment. Admission is free.

Grand International Festival

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SECTION CLEVELAND, S. L. P.

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FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE VARIOUS PARTY ORGANS.

Sunday, January 31, 1909

ACME HALL, (Formerly GERMANIA HALL)
EAST 9th STREET
(Old Erie St.), between Central and Woodland Aves.

Magnificent international program: Singing, recitations, theatrical performances, humorous renditions, splendid concert music by Boehm's enlarged orchestra, selected dance-program with different national dances. The ball will be opened with a grand polonaise.
Concert at 3 p. m. sharp.

TICKETS, Advance Sales, For Gentlemen and Lady 25 CENTS
AT THE BOX OFFICE 50 CENTS.

Tickets may be bought in advance from all members and at the office of the German Party Organ, "Volksfreund," 1260 Ontario St., between Public Square and St. Clair Ave.

Grand Concert

By Members of the
METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE ORCHESTRA

LEO SCHULZ, Conductor.

Under the Auspices of the

Socialist Labor Party

For the

DAILY PEOPLE

At

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Lexington Ave., Bet. 43d and 44th Sts.

On SUNDAY, February 21, 1909

(Washington's Birthday Eve) Concert Commences at 2 P. M.

EMINENT ARTISTS WILL ASSIST

TICKETS (Admitting One) 25c. HAT CHECKS 10c.

Cinematograph Exhibition to follow Concert. Ball at 8 P. M.

THE CONFLICT.

(Continued from page 1.)

economic organization had not yet been sufficiently built. And whatever concessions were wrung from the autocrat in the Winter Palace, were wrung by the industrial organization of the workers, where it existed, as on the railways.

"The Russian revolutionists can plead in excuse for their failure the fact that events moved too fast for them, and they could not get their economic organization built up in time. Can we in America plead that excuse? No! We have the time, we must profit by the lesson of Russia, and must build up that revolutionary union.

"But the S. P. is fanatical—I say it without meaning any offence—fanatical after votes. It believes that it should get votes anyhow. Hence, instead of doing what it believes abstractly right, it does what it believes will make friends for it, especially in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor, as seen in its anti-immigration stand. In order to catch votes, it would rather follow the anti-Socialist A. F. of L. into its falsities, than be true to principle and repel possible votes. Ernest Untermann admitted this fact literally in 1906, when he showed that anti-immigration measures were false in theory, but were demanded by organized labor, and should be adopted, especially in view of the coming political campaign." Max Hayes and Guy Miller made the same statement at the last S. P. national convention in Chicago.

The speaker concluded by showing how the purely political conception of the movement held by the S. P. caused that party to set itself in hostility to the decision of the International Congress on the question of Unity also, as it had on Economic Organization and on Immigration; while the Socialist Labor Party's scientific acceptance of the essential function of the Union opened the way for it to an unwavering adherence to the principles of international Socialism.

LECTURES IN ST. LOUIS.

The Socialist Labor Party will give a series of lectures this winter at their headquarters, 1717 South Broadway, second floor, St. Louis. Lectures begin at 2:30 p. m.

February 7—Old and New Trades Unionism.

February 21—Reform or Revolution? March 7—The Difference between the Socialist party and the Socialist Labor Party.

March 21—Does the Socialist party Represent the Interests of the Working Class?

Discussions after each lecture. Admission free.

.. Antipatriotism ..

Celebrated address of Gustave Hervé at the close of his trial for Anti-Militarist Activity, before the jury of La Seine.

An excellent answer to Capitalist Jingoism and capital exposition of the need of international unity of the working class.

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AND THE
Socialist Labor Party

ALSO BETWEEN

Socialism, Anarchism

AND

Anti-Political Industrialism

BY

A. ROSENTHAL

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Yearly subscription for U. S. A. or Canada, 36c.

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We also have a new supply of the red celluloid button, at five cents.

The bronze button at 50 cents. New York Labor News Co., 28 City Hall Place, New York.

MARX on MALLOCK

or
Facts vs. Fiction

By DANIEL DE LEON.

A LECTURE THAT EFFECTIVELY KNOCKS OUT THE CAPITALIST CLAIM THAT THE PLUNDER THEY TAKE FROM LABOR IS THE REWARD OF THEIR "DIRECTING ABILITY."

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